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OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

POEMS

OF

THOMAS ROWLEY:

PART II.

X

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CONVENT and MINSTER

Of our Lady and Saint Goodwyne.

IN the Balade of *Charitie* mention is made of the convent of St. Godwine: which in the proſe account of William Canninge Rowley ſtiles the Miniſter of our Lady and St. Goodwin *. He tells us, that he was employed by the excellent man, his friend and patron, to go to the principal abbies and priories to purchaſe for him pictures, and other curioſities; and the firſt place that he viſited, was this convent of our Lady and St. Goodwine. It is by the learned Mr. Warton ſuppoſed, that the place alluded to was at Worceſter. We are told in the notes to the poem, that the abbot at that time was Ralph de Bellomont: but from whom this intelligence proceeded, we are not informed. It was probably annexed to the original manuſcript by the hand of the author. Thus much is certain, that the family of the Bellomont's, of which family were ſome of the Earls of Warwick, had been benefactors to ſeveral religious houſes in this part of the world. At Warwick one of them

* Miſcell. in proſe and verſe, by T. C. p. 125.

founded an hoſpital for lepers. * Domus leproſorum St. Michaelis Warwici fundata per Rogerum de Bello-monte, Comitem Warwilenſem. The like benefactions were conferred upon the place by his ſon, † Anno Dni MCLXXXIII. fundata eſt domus Johannis extra muros per Gulielmum Comitem, filium Rogeri de Bellomonte. The ſame Roger de Bellomont built alſo in this city the convent of Auguſtine Friers. ‡ Rogerus de Bello-monte induxit Canonicos Ordinis Sti Auguſtini in eccleſiam S. Sepulchri, quam Henricus de Bello-monte, pater ejus, conſtruxit ad petitionem Hieroſolymitarum. Hæc erat capitalis domus hujus ordinis per Angliam et Walliam. Putantque Almaricum hujus loci primum Priorem ad Patriarchalem ſedem Hieroſolymitarum fuiſſe tranſlatum. Theſe hiſtories will ſerve to ſhew the great wealth of this family; and their liberality to the church. Concerning any benefactions to Worceſter I do not read. Thus much we know, that there was in this place an ancient convent dedicated to Saint Mary, mentioned by Harpsfeld, p. 769. which may poſſibly be the convent ſpoken of

* Leland. Itin. v. 4. Append. p. 161.

† Ibid. p. 162.

‡ Ibid. p. 161. Concerning the Bellomonts, ſee alſo vol. vi. p. 63. and Dugdale's Monaſticon, v. i. p. 289. 359. 470. 510. 598. 626. 724; alſo in v. ii.

in the poem. Worceſtriæ, quæ et Wigorniæ, T. S. Mariæ, S. Wolſtani, Stæ Catharinæ, fundavit Sexwulphus Epiſcopus Merciorum A. D. 680. Oſwaldus Epiſcopus Wigorn. Wolſtanus ibidem Epiſcop. A. D. 1090.—Nigri Monachi. Reditus annuus. £.1386. 12*s*. 10*d*. In the Actus Pontificum by William Stubbs, the author ſpeaking of the death of Bp. Oſwald, ſays,—11 idus Marcij migravit ad Dominum, et Wygorniæ in Eccleſiâ Stæ Mariæ, quam ipſe a fundamentis conſtruxerat, requieſcit. p. 1699. We find, that there were religious places at Worceſter dedicated to St. Mary: but the perſon, who ſeems to ſpeak moſt to the purpoſe, is Lambarde, where he is treating of this place. *The towne hathe the ryver Severne on the weſt therof, and had longe ſence (beſides the Biſhops chaire) a caſtle, and certeine religious buildinges, that is to ſay, S*t*. Maries Abbay*—&c. p. 405. This is the ſame monaſtery, which is mentioned above by Stubbs and Harpsfeld; and the ſame, I believe, which is alluded to by the poet. As the family of the Bellomonts had been ſuch benefactors to the church, we need not wonder, if one of them is mentioned as Abbot of a rich convent in their * neighbourhood. For this

* Lewis de Bellomonte, in the reign of Edward the Second, was Biſhop of Durham.

monaſtery

monaſtery was very wealthy: and we find above, that at the diſſolution the annual income was eſtimated at £.1386. 12s. 10d. The abbot, in conſequence of it, is repreſented by the poet, as remarkably ſplendid in his attire; and haughty in his demeanor.

We find, that the monaſtery had its name from *our Ladie* and Saint *Godwin*. The former title has been authenticated by the evidence above given: but concerning St. Godwin I can obtain no intelligence. We find in Capgrave and * Serenus Creſſy a Saint Golwin, who is ſaid to have been an Armorican; and to have lived in the fourth century. There was likewiſe a Saint † Goven, who was of Britiſh original: and from whom a promontory in Pembrokeſhire had the name of St. Goven's Point. Both St. Goven, and St. Golwen are eaſily miſtaken for Godwin. Leland takes notice of St. Godwald, who had a church dedicated to him at Worceſter; ‡ but adds, *who this St. Godwald was, I could not certainly learn.* As he appears to have been one of the tutelary Saints of the place, he may poſſibly have been the ſame, who in the tranſcript from Rowley is ſtiled || Godwin.

* L. 14. p. 319. † Camd. p. 714. ‡ Lel. v. iv. p. 104.

|| Abbies and other religious houſes, had many names, being dedicated to more Saints than one: Of this we may find innumerable inſtances in Harpsfield, Dugdale, and other writers.

There is reaſon to think, that ſeveral names in theſe poems have been not truly copied: nor has the tranſcriber in common words always kept up to the truth. It is a point of no great moment, but in this ballad of Charity, he ſpeaks of St. Godwin's *convent:* but not many lines before the ſame word is expreſſed *covent*.

* —— faſte by a pathwaie ſide,
Which dide unto St. Godwin's covent lede.

This I imagine was the true reading in both places: as it agrees with the uſage of the more early writers. Thus we find it rendered in the viſion of Pierce Plowman:

† And al the *covent* furth came to welcome the tyrant.

It occurs likewiſe in Robert of Glouceſter.

‡ And of the hous of Teukeſbury thulke *covent* ys.

TEMPLE CHURCH.

Of the Temple Church at Briſtol.

In a curious tranſcript from Rowley, an account is given of the firſt building of this church, which was undertaken by a foreigner, contrary to the advice of a native of the place. He foretold, that it would not be ſecure on

* P. 204. v. 15. † Fol. 112. ‡ P. 433. l. 14.

account

account of the ſoil, upon which it was to ſtand; and concerning which he had great ſuſpicions. For there was a notion, that the river once ran there: and that the ſtreet called Rhi-ſtreet was denominated from that circumſtance: the term *Rhi* being ſuppoſed to betoken a *river*. In conſequence of this, the building, long before it was finiſhed, gave way, and ſunk; and could not be compleated. After this, the very perſon who had ſhewn his ſagacity, was employed. He by piles and other means ſecured the foundation; and then raiſed the church to its proper height. Of the foundation, upon which the church now ſtands, people very lately had ocular demonſtration: for the old gates leading to the Temple Church being decayed, the workmen were forced to dig, in order to fix ſome new ones: and within three feet of the ſurface they came to the ancient baſis; which was of ſo ſtrong workmanſhip, that they could not without great difficulty make their way through it. They did not, I believe, ſee the piles beneath: for the water roſe in ſuch quantities, that they could not reach ſo far. We have a curious atteſtation to the ſame purpoſe in William of Worceſtre, who lived in the time of Rowley. He tells us, that in the ſtreet calle *le Pylle*, as you paſs between St. Leonard's church, and the church

yard of St. Stephen, there were ſome houſes built; and in digging for a foundation they found the ſoil ſo weak, that they were obliged to go 47 feet deep: in doing which they found a boat, and a parcel of ray-cloth, which had been buried there for a long ſeaſon. They came alſo to a large tree. p. 268. The opinion concerning the river Froom once running where that ſtreet ſtands, is farther confirmed by the ſame author; which, as it is ſhort, I will give in his own words. * *The yate of St. Leonard under the ſeyd chyrch croſſeth* 11 *weys: the ſouth-eaſt way ys Baldwyne ſtrete goyng to the bakke. The ſecund way is called Pylle-ſtreet: there of old dayes renne the water called Frome by Baldwyne ſtrete to the bakk, fallyng into Avyn-water*, p. 177. He mentions both Pylle (or Pile) ſtreet, and Marſh-ſtreet: both of which had undoubtedly their names from the circumſtances mentioned in theſe hiſtories.

CANYNGE.

It is ſaid in the † Memoirs concerning this excellent perſon, that in the year, in

* Itinerarium Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worceſtre a Jacob Naſmith, A M. S A S. editum 1778. He wrote 1480.

† See Miſcell. by T. Chatterton, p. 119.

which

which King Edward came to Briſtow, he was recommended by that prince to a marriage with a lady, whom he had never ſeen; and who was of the Widdevile family, more commonly ſtiled Woodville. This was a noble match for him; as the head of the family was the Earl of Rivers; who had married Jaquilina of Luxemburgh, the widow of the great Duke of Bedford. But Canninge was above ſuch honours. He likewiſe was too knowing not to ſee the ſnare, which was laid for him. For as he was not young, and at the ſame time immenſely rich, the king undoubtedly wanted to match him to one of the Woodvilles, that all his fortune might be entailed upon the family, into which the king himſelf had married. But Canninge ſaw into this artifice; and to avoid a connexion, where he was not permitted either ſight or choice, he went into orders, and was ordained by his friend Biſhop Carpenter of Worceſter. The king upon hearing this was angry beyond deſcription, and reſented Canninge's behaviour highly: ſo that, as we are informed by the author, Canninge was glad to preſent him with three thouſand * marks, in order to avoid his future ill-will. This was an immenſe ſum for thoſe times, and almoſt incredible. But we have

* See Miſcell. by T. Chatterton, p. 126.

authority

authority for it, in the treatiſe before mentioned of William of Worceſtre; who authenticates this part of the ſtory, paſt all diſpute. * Item ultra iſta Edwardus Rex quartus habuit de dicto Wilelmo (Canyngis) 111 milia marcarum pro pace ſuâ habendâ. To let us know farther, how well able this notable perſon was to pay ſuch a fine, he gives us an account of his trade and ſubſtance; which appears truly wonderful. The reader will excuſe the latinity, and attend only to the information afforded. † Dominus Willelmus Canyngis, qui fuit Major Lond (lege Briſtowe) 5 vicibus, per octo annos exhibuit octingentos homines in navibus occupatos: et habuit operarios, et carpentarios, maſons, &c. omni die centum homines.

De navibus habuit le Mary Canyngys de	400 doliatis.
Le Mary Radclyf, pondere	500 doliat.
Le Mary et John, pondere	900 doliatar.
Conſtabat ſibi in toto 4000 marcas.	
Le Galyot Navis, pondere	50 doliat.
Le Cateryn, pondere	140 doliat.
Le Marybat, pondere	220 doliat.
Le Margyt de Tynly, pondere	200 doliat.
Le lytylle Nicholas, pondere	140 doliat.

* P. 99. † Ibid.

Le

Le Kateryn de Boſton, pondere 220 doliat.
Le navis in Iſeland perdita circa pondus } 160 doliat.

He had given before a ſhort account of this excellent man; which authenticates many things found in Rowley. * Dominus Willelmus Canynges, ditiſſimus, et ſapientiſſimus, mercator Villæ Briſtoliæ, Decanus Eccleſiæ Weſtbery, obijt 17 die Novembris anno Chriſti 1474: et exal(ta)tus fuit in ordine preſbyteratûs 7 annis: et quinquies Major dictæ Villæ fuit, electus pro Republicâ dictæ Villæ. This was the perſon, whom Rowley with unfeigned regard ſtiles— † *a grete and good man, the favouryte of God, the friende of the chyrche, the compayonne of kynges, and the fadre of hys natyve cittie.* By the death of his father and an elder brother, he came to a large fortune, by which means he was enabled to raiſe his brother John very greatly in life; ſo that in the year 1456, he became Lord Mayor of London.

And put his broder into ſyke a trade,
That he Lorde Mayre of Londonne towne was made.
p. 283.

This is verified by the liſts of the Mayors in ‡ Fabian, Stowe, &c. Of Sir William Canynge's

* Itinerar. Will. Wor. p. 83.
† See Rowley's Memoirs of William Canynge, p. 117.
‡ There is however great reaſon to think that his name

Canynge's going into orders to avoid the marriage propoſed by King Edward, we have the following evidence, for which we are indebted to Mr. Tyrwhitt. * *It is certain, from the regiſter of the Biſhop of Worceſter, that Mr. Canynge was ordained Acolythe by Biſhop Carpenter on* 19*th of September,* 1467; *and received the higher orders of Subdeacon, Deacon, and Prieſt, on the* 12*th of March,* 1467. *O. S. the* 2*d and* 16*th of April,* 1468, *reſpectively.* We find farther from William of † Worceſter, that he was at laſt made Dean of Weſtbury: for which place Biſhop Carpenter ſeems to have entertained a great regard, in ſo much, that he choſe it for his principal place of reſidence; and wanted it to be made a Biſhop's See, and to be united to Worceſter. ‡ Johannes Carpenter voluit in titulum aſſumere, ut Epiſcopus Wigorn: et Weſtburienſis diceretur. Hic ex veteri Collegio, quod erat Weſtebiriæ, novum fecit, et prædijs auxit, addito pinnato muro, portâ, et turribus, inſtar Caſtelli. The biſhop died, ac-

name was not John: for Fabian, who lived in the ſame century, and was himſelf Lord Mayor of London, mentions Canynge, who was a Grocer, both as Mayor and Sheriff: and in each of theſe capacities he ſtiles him Thomas.

* Introductory account by Mr. Tyrwhitt, p. xxiii.

† P. 83.

‡ Leland's Itin. v. viii. p. 100.

cording

cording to * Godwin at Northweek, and was buried at Weſtbury. The ſame is ſaid by Leland. Johannes Carpenter Epiſcopus Wigorn: erexit magnam turrim, id eſt, the Gate Houſe, apud Herthiſbiriom. Obijt ad Northwike epiſcopi, et ſepultus apud Weſtbyry prope Brightſtow, ubi fuit alter † fundator.

WIDDEVILLE.

It is obſervable, that the family of King Edward's Queen is in the paſſage above ſtiled Widdeville: but in Hall's Chronicle it is ‡ Woodville: and in this he is followed by Grafton, Hollinſhed, Speed, Baker, Rapin, and other Engliſh hiſtorians. But thoſe, who have looked into manuſcripts, find the name expreſſed Wideville, and Widdeville; and ſo it occurs in extracts made by Hearne. Thus in the annals of Wilhelm of Wyrceſtre, we find among the perſons knighted in the Tower by King Edward, upon his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Gray, two who were her brothers: Richard Wydevile, and John Wydevile. See Liber Niger Scaccarij per T. Hearne, v. ii. p. 502. The author had juſt before

* See Godwin de Præſul. and Le Neves Faſti. p. 298.

† Leland. Itin. v. viii. p. 99.

‡ It is found rendered both Woodville and Woodvile.

mentioned

mentioned the latter of theſe perſons with this remarkable hiſtory annexed. Menſe Januarij Katerina duciſſa Norffolciæ, juvencula ætatis * fere $\frac{xx}{IIII}$ annorum, maritata eſt Johanni *Widevile*, fratri Reginæ, ætatis xx annorum. Maritagium diabolicum: vindicta Bernardi inter eoſdem poſtea patuit. ibid. He in another place takes notice of the other brother.—Riccardum *Widevile*, militem, fratrem Reginæ Elizabethæ. p. 517. The king wanted to change him from a ſoldier to a churchman; and to appoint him Prior to the convent of St. John of Jeruſalem: but ſeems to have been defeated in his purpoſe. The name is here rendered Widevile; and ſo it occurs in a fragment at the end of Sprot's Chronicle: concerning which Mr. Hearne has the following note. De Nuptijs Edwardi iv ac Elizabethæ Widevile vide fragmentum illud vetuſtum ac egregium, linguâ venaculâ conſcriptum, quod ad calcem Thomæ Sprotti edidimus. The paſſage is as follows. *On the xxvi day of May the queene Elizabeth was crowned att Weſtmonſtre with ſolemnite, where as were made Knigtes of the Bath, as I knewe, the Lorde Duras, Sir Birtelot de Rybaire—Sir John Wydevile, brother to the queene; alſo Anthony Wydevile, brother to the queene.* p. 294. and p. 296. A perſon

* *i. e.* fere octoginta annorum. p. 501.

of

of this name is mentioned far prior: ſee Lib. Nig. Scacc. p. 213. Upon which, the ſame writer has the following note. Hinc liquet Widvillorum familiam admodum eſſe antiquam: immo longe vetuſtiorem, quam voluerunt nonnulli. He ſays, that Dugdale could not find any of the family higher than the 37th of Edward the Third. But it is certain, that one Hugo de Widevile is mentioned in Doomſday Book, as holding lands in Northamptonſhire.

Now as all the printed hiſtories of England exhibit the name of this Lady, and thoſe of her family, in a different manner; how came C. to vary from them, and to expreſs it * Widdevile, inſtead of Woodville? The reaſon was, becauſe he had not recourſe to any printed hiſtory. There is reaſon to think, that he never read Stowe or Speed; much leſs Hall or Grafton. It was from a Manuſcript that he drew; from one of that collection, to which we have been ſo much beholden.

Sir TIBBALD, or THEOBALD, GORGES.

One of Maſter Canynge's, as well as Rowley's, moſt intimate friends, was Sir Theobald

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. xxiii.

Gorges; whoſe family ſeat was at Wraxhall in the neighbourhood of Briſtol. A perſon of this name reſided there in the time of Leland. *Wrekeſhale is a 3 miles from Wike towards Brighteſtow. Here hath Sir Wylliam Gorge a meane old Maner place in a valley: and on eche ſide of it on the hilles is a fayre parke.* Itin. vol. vii. p. 98. That he was one of Canynge's friends, we have the following remarkable atteſtation. * *His connexion with Mr. Canynge is verified by a deed of the latter, dated 20 October, 1467: in which he gives to truſtees in part of a benefaction of £. 500 to the church St. Mary Redcliffe certain jewells of Sir Theobald Gorges, Knight, which had been pawned to him for £. 160.* He is ſtiled Sir † Thybotte in Rowley: and we have the following hiſtory concerning the family of this perſon, in Pryn. Brev. Parliamenti (Part i. p. 80.) where he

* Mr. Tyrwhitt's Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. xxv.

† We find the name expreſſed much in the ſame manner by other ancient writers; and particularly by Rob. of Glouceſter.

Tho *Tebaud* the erchebiſſop ſuthth ded was.
p. 469. v. 7.

In another place ſpeaking of King Henry the Firſt keeping his court at Chriſtmas, he ſays—

The kyng held at Bromtone ther after al in peys.
Hys feſte at mydwynter myd *Tebaud* of Bloys.
p. 439. l. 7.

The ſame perſon is called Syr *Tybaud*, p. 436. l. 18.

is

is ſpeaking of Sir Theobald Ruſſel. *The ſaid Theobald by his firſt wife Eleanor, daughter and coheir of Ralph de Gorges, a baron in parliament, temp. Edwardi Tertij, had three ſons, Sir John; William, who died without iſſue; and Sir Theobald, who bore the name and arms of Gorges: viz. Lozingy, Or and Gules: from whom the Gorges of Wraxhall in Herefordſhire are deſcended.* It is in the additions to Camden, expreſſed Wroxhall, and placed more truly in Somerſetſhire: unleſs there were two ſeats of this family of the ſame name in different counties. *Wroxhall (in ſome old writings called Wrokeſhale) hath been for a long time the ſeat of the Gorges: of which ancient family Ralph de Gorges was in the 47th year of Henry the Third, made governour of Sherburn Caſtle; and a little after of the Caſtle of Exeter.* Britann. p. 85. We are farther informed concerning this family, * that Sir Edmund Gorges of Wraxhall, Somerſetſhire, Knight of the Bath, in the time of King Henry the Seventh, married Anne, daughter of John Duke of Norfolk, ſlain at Boſworth field. By her he had a ſon, Sir Edward, ſeated likewiſe at † Wraxhall; anceſtor to Sir Edward Gorges, created by King James the Firſt a peer of Ireland, by the title of Lord of Dundalk.

* See Collins's peerage—Duke of Norfolk, p. 64.

† Camden's Britann. p. 1393.

Sir BALDWIN FULFORD.

This perſon is mentioned by Leland, under the title of *Fulford*, a *Knighte of Fulford in Devonſhire*. Itin. v. iii. p. 4. He in another place expreſſes the name Fulfirte: and ſpeaking of Lord Holland, who was Duke of Exeter, he ſays, of him, *He was Admirale of England:* and ſubjoins, *Sir Baldwine Fulfirte, a Knighte of the Sepulchre, was his under Admiralle*. Itin. v. vii. p. 8. This may account for a particular hiſtory given of him by Stowe; in which he is repreſented as undertaking a naval expedition. He ſtiles him *Sir Baudwine*, and intimates, that he was a zealous Lancaſtrian; and active in the ſervice of his Prince, King Henry the Sixth; but unſucceſsful. *Sir Baudwine Fulford undertooke, on pain of loſing his head, that he would deſtroy the Earle of Warwicke* (at Calais) *But when he hadde ſpent the king a thouſand markes in money, he returned again.* Stowe's Chron. p. 406. b. l. 47. He was beheaded at Briſtol in the year 1461, by order of the Earl of March, who at that time had juſt taken the title of King Edward the Fourth. This Prince was undoubtedly irritated by the loſs of his father at the unfortunate battle of

Wakefield, and by the cruelty ſhewn to many of his friends, who had been put to death that year after the ſecond battle of Saint Albans. Indeed there was very little mercy ſhewn on either ſide: and before this execution at Briſtol, the king, after the battle of Townton, had ordered Sir Thomas Fulford to be beheaded, who was probably of the ſame family as Sir Baldwin. He ſuffered with many more of the Lancaſtrian party at * Hexham in Northumberland. Concerning the event at Briſtol, upon which the poem of Rowley is founded, we have the following evidences afforded us by the learned Mr. Tyrwhitt. † Sir Baldwin Fulford *was attainted with many others, in the general act of attainder,* 1 *Edw. IV. but he ſeems to have been executed under a ſpecial commiſſion for the trial of treaſons, &c. within the town of Briſtol. The fragment of the old Chronicle publiſhed by Hearne at the end of Sprotti Chronica. p.* 289. *ſays only, item, the ſame yere* (1 Edw. IV.) *was takin Sir Baldewine Fulford, and beheddid at Briſtow. But the matter is more fully ſtated in the act, which paſſed in* 7 *Edw. IV. for the reſtitution in blood and eſtate of Thomas Fulford, Knight, eldeſt ſon of Baldewyn Fulford, late of Fulford in the county of Devonſhire,*

* Stow. p. 416. He is mentioned by W. of Wyrceſtre: See Liber Niger Scaccarij. by Hearne, v. ii. p. 491.

† Introductory account to Rowley's Poems, p. xviii.

Knight. Rot. Parl. 8 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 13. In the poem it is ſaid, that at the time of this event William Canynge was Mayor. And agreeably to this, in the act referred to above, we find, that he was ſo: for in the preamble of this act it is mentioned, that Sir Baldwin was upon the 5th of September, 1461, *atteynt of dyvers treſons by him doon ayenſt the king:* and among the perſons, who ſat as judges upon the occaſion *at Briſtowe, in the ſhire of Briſtowe*, were—Henry Erle of Eſſex, William Haſtyngs of Haſtyngs, Knt. Richard Chock, * *William Canyng, Maire*. And in reſpect to King Edward's being at Briſtol when this happened, Mr. Tyrwhitt very judiciouſly obſerves, that * *if the commiſſion ſate ſoon after the 5th of September, as is moſt probable, King Edward might very poſſibly be at Briſtol at the time of Sir Baldewyn's execution. For between his coronation and the parliament, which met in November, he made a progreſs (as the continuator of Stowe informs us, p. 416.) by the ſouth coaſt into the weſt, and was, among other places, at Briſtol.* As to his taking a view of the whole proceſs, as deſcribed in the poem, we have ſo far evidence, as to make it highly probable: for which we are again indebted to the reſearches of Mr. Tyrwhitt: whoſe words I will again take the liberty to

* Introduct. to Rowley's Poems, p. xix.

quote,

quote. *Indeed there is a circumſtance, which might lead us to believe, that he was actually a ſpectator of the execution from the Minſter window, as deſcribed in the poem. In an old accompt of the Procurators of St. Ewin's church, which was then the Minſter, from xx March in the 1. Edward IV. to 1 April in the year next enſuing, is the following article, according to a copy made by Mr. Catcot from the original book.*

Item. for waſhynge the church payven ageyns Kynge Edward IV. is comynge } iiij d. ob.

Though many of the circumſtances in this poem are in their nature too inconſiderable to be generally recorded; yet we find, that there are ſtrong evidences in their favour. In the firſt place it ſeems pretty plain that Sir Baldwin mentioned by the poet, was Sir Baldwin of Fulford in Devonſhire: and farther that he had been a ſtrong advocate for the Lancaſtrian cauſe, as repreſented by Rowley: and was executed at Briſtol for his allegiance to King Henry. It is likewiſe manifeſt, that William Canynge was undoubtedly at that time Mayor: and that about the ſame time King Edward had made a progreſs in the weſt; and at laſt came to Briſtol, agreeably to the tenor of the poem. Laſtly, it is equally certain, that the Minſter was prepared for his reception; from whence, according to

the poet, he was a ſpectator of the tragedy. The hiſtory of the perſon, concerning whom we have been treating, is rather of a private nature, and the diſtance of time conſiderable: yet we find a wonderful coincidence of circumſtances in ſupport of the poet's veracity.

ROBERT CONSUL.

Rowley ſays, concerning himſelf, that as he grew old, he was liable to infirmities: and he adds,—* *After this miſchaunce I lived in a houſe by the Tower, which had not been repayred, ſince Robert Conſul of Glouceſter repayred the caſtle, and wall. Here I lived warm. —Some marks it coſt me to put in repayr my new houſe.* Of the perſon, who is mentioned in this detail, as having put the caſtle in repair, we have the following account in Leland. † *Robertus Conſul, Lorde of Brightſtowe caſtle, and founder of St. James priorie in the northe ſuburbe of Brightſtow.—King Stephen toke the town of Brightſtow by force from Robert Conſul.* Itin. vol. vii. p. 88. Again: *Robert Conſul Cownte of Glocеſtarſhire, buryed in the Quiere (in the church of St. James) in the myddle of it in a ſepulchre of gray marble ſet*

* Rowley's Memoirs: ſee Miſcell. in proſe and verſe by T. C. p. 128.

† Vol. vii. p. 85. See alſo vol. vi. p. 85.

up

up upon ſix pillars of a ſmaull hethe. In his tumbe was ſound a writynge in parchemente concernynge the tyme of his deathe, and what he was. A brewer in Brightſtow hath this writing. He is alſo mentioned by * Matthew Paris; and by † Henry of Huntingdon. Were it not for theſe fortunate atteſtations, the account of a perſon named Conſul in Rowley, would have been looked upon as a fiction. By other hiſtorians he is generally ſtiled Robertus Comes Gloceſtriencis; and Regis Henrici Nothus ‡. The account given by Rowley is rendered very plain from the evidence of theſe hiſtorians.

ROWLEY'S TOWER.

We are further informed by Rowley, that as he grew old, he became very infirm; and upon that account removed from the place, where he had for ſome time reſided, to an houſe adjoining to one of the towers near the caſtle wall. This tower (as I underſtand it)

* Fratrem Roberti Conſulis. Matt. Paris, p. 18. l. 41; alſo p. 76. l. 16.

† P. 392, 3. He ſpeaks of the title as not very uncommon: and mentions both Viri *Conſules*, et *Conſulares*. See Knighton. p. 2386. l. 43.

‡ Johan Prior de Hagulſtadt. p. 266. l. 29. Chron. Gervaſij. p. 1345. l. 60. Nothus. Johan Bromton. p. 1028. l. 14.

had not been repaired, ſince the time that Earl Robert, ſurnamed Conſul, had repaired both the wall and the caſtle. For he had in the time of King Stephen invited the Empreſs Maud into England; and accordingly had taken up arms in favour of Henry the Second, his Nephew: on which account he fortified Briſtol. But the caſtle was taken by King Stephen: and as caſtles of this ſort ſeemed only to countenance diſloyalty, and harbour rebels, they were to a great number in the next reign demoliſhed: and thoſe, which remained, were not kept up; but for the moſt part by length of time fell to ruin. Hence it is ſaid by Rowley, and, I make no doubt, very truly, that the tower next to his houſe had not been repaired from the time of Robert Earl of Glouceſter: and he intimates the ſame of the town wall and caſtle: which interval amounts to near three hundred and thirty years. There are caſtles, and remains of caſtles, which have been neglected, and in a ſtate of ruin, from that time to the preſent; which amounts to twice that number of years. We have the following account in Leland, both of the caſtle and its towers, as they appeared in his time. *In the caſtle be two cowrtes. In the utter courte, as in the northe weſte parte of it, is a greate dungeon tower, &c. There be many towres yet ſtandynge in bothe the cowrtes, but all tendithe to ruine.* Itin. v. vii. p. 84.

p. 84. It may not be improper to inſert the hiſtory of Earl Robert of Glouceſter at large, as we find it in another part of this Writer's Itinerary: eſpecially as it contains very material evidence, in favour of Rowley, concerning the repairing of the caſtle of Briſtol by this perſon. * Mabilia primogenita (Filia Roberti Haymonis) nupſit Roberto, Filio Notho Henrici Primi, quem Pater Rex Henricus integro honore de Gloceſtre inſignivit.

Hic Robertus Nothus ædificavit Prioratum 1 Jacobi Briſtolliæ; et membrum fecit Monaſterio de Theokeſbyri.

Robertus Nothus ſolebat ſingulis ſolennibus diebus habere ſecum Abbatem de Theokeſbyricum 12 monachis Briſtolliæ.

Hic Robertus *conſtruxit Caſtrum de Briſtolle*, et dedit decimum quemque lapidem Caſtri ad fabricam Capellæ S. Mariæ juxta Monaſterium 1 Jacob Briſtolliæ.

Robertus obijt prid. Cal. Novemb. ſub a°. D. 1140. a°. Stephani 12. Sepultus in choro Monaſterij S. Jacobi Briſtolliæ. Leland. Itin. vol. vi. p. 74. Leland had before given atteſtation to his being called Robert *Conſul*: as he does here to his building, or rather rebuilding, of the caſtle. Concerning his wife's father, Robert Fitz Haym, I have ſpoken before in the chapter concerning Briſtol, p. 201.

* Itin. vol. vi. p. 74.

GAUNTS.

GAUNTS.

The author having ſpoken of that noble fabric at Redcliff, which he ſtiles *Our Ladies Chyrche*, ſpeaks of the great expence, with which it was erected; and how few were capable of engaging in ſuch a purpoſe. Upon this *Truth*, which he has introduced as a perſon, gives him this excellent piece of advice.

As thou haſt got, give almes-dedes ſoe :
Canynges and Gaunts culde doe ne moe. p. 276.

The greateſt benefactors to Briſtol were people of theſe names. Of the former was the perſon, who by means of Rowley has been brought forth into the knowledge of the world, after a ſtate of long obſcurity. Of the latter were more than one, who are taken notice of by Leland, where he is giving an account of the place at Briſtol denominated from them. * *One Henry Gaunt, a knight, ſometime dwelling not far from Brandon hill, erected a college of Priſtes withe a maſtar on the grene by St. Auguſtines : and ſone after he chaunged the firſt foundation into a certeyne kinde of religion ; and was governowr of the*

* Vol. vii. p. 85.

howſe

howſe hymſelfe, and lyethe buried in the veſterye undar a flat ſtone. This had at the deſolucion of the howſe 300 *marks of land, by the year. —This Henry had a brother cawly'd Ser Mawryce Gaunt. He was foundar of the Blake Friers in Briſtow,* Itin. v. vii. p. 86. — *The Blake Friers ſtode a litte higher than the Gray on Frome, in the right ripe of it. Ser Mawrice Gaunt, elder brother to Ser Henry Gaunt, foundar of the Gaunts, was foundar of* * *this.* Ibid. What is here ſtiled the *Gaunts*, was the Collegiate Church, and the buildings belonging to it: ſo denominated from the founder. Camden takes notice of its being erected by Sir Henry Gaunt: and farther tells us, that quitting the world he did here dedicate himſelf to the ſervice of God, p. 95. Perſons of this name are mentioned by ſeveral writers. Matthew Paris takes notice of a Maurice † Gaunt, who joined the Barons at Stamford, in the year 1215: and was afterwards together with them excommunicated by the ‡ Pope. He ſays, that the firſt of the family came over with the Conqueror; and for his ſervices had a portion of the New-

* Briſtolij Eccleſia Collegiata, nunc Hoſpitale. Fundator prioris Henricus Gaunt Miles: poſterioris Thomas Carre civis opulentus. H. Orphani. Nich. Harpsfeld. Hiſt. Eccles. Ang. p. 772.

† P. 254. l. 8.

‡ P. 277. l. 51.

Foreſt

Foreſt given him as a * reward: which William Rufus, when he occupied all that part of the country, purchaſed of him; or elſe made an exchange. Empta igitur quædam terra, vel commutata, a quodam Nobili, M. de Gaunt, qui cum Patre ſuo venerat in Angliam ad conquæſtum, et illam acceperat in ſorte retributionis, &c. p. 572. l. 5.

FITZ HARDING.

The poet ſpeaking of the Worthies of Briſtol, mentions

Fitz Hardynge, Bithrickus and twentie moe.
p. 280. v. 35.

The father of this perſon, though by birth a Dane, was in the ſervice of William of Normandy, and fought on his ſide at the battle of Haſtings. On this account he was rewarded with large demeſnes in the counties of Glouceſter and Somerſet, and reſided at Briſtol. He had ſeveral ſons, one of which was Robert, the ſame, who for his benefactions is alluded to by Rowley. He was deeply engaged on the ſide of the Empreſs Matilda,

* This was probably Gilbert de Gaunt, who is mentioned by Simeon Dunelmenſis, as employed in the north by William the Conqueror. De Geſtis Reg. Anglor. p. 198. l. 66.

and

and of her ſon Henry the Second; during their wars with Stephen of Blois: and for his ſervices had the lordſhip of Berkeley beſtowed upon him; of which Roger of Berkeley had been deprived. He reſided much at Briſtol; and is ſaid to have there entertained * Dermot Mac Murrough, King of Leinſter, in Ireland, when he came over to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of King Henry. He was noted for works of piety: and in the year 1148, he laid the foundation of the Auguſtine Monaſtery at Briſtol. Of this we have an account in Robert of Glouceſter, who ſtiles him a burgeſs of Briſtol.

† A bourgeis of Briſtowe Roberd Harding
Vor gret treſour, and richeſſe ſo wel was mid the king.
That he zef him and his eirs the noble baronie
That ſo rich is of Berkele mid al the ſeignorie.
And thulke Roberd Harding arerde ſuchthe y wis
The Abbeye at Briſtowe, that of Seint Auſtin is.

* Sir James Ware's Hiſt. of Ireland, p. 3.

† P. 479. l. 7. It has been objected to Rowley's Poems, that oftentimes for ſeveral lines together, if you change the manner of ſpelling, the language becomes modern. The ſame may be obſerved in the lines above quoted, though more ancient than Rowley by two centuries.

A burgeſs of Briſtol, Robert Harding,
For great treaſure and riches ſo well was with the king.
That he gave him and his heirs the noble barony,
That ſo rich is of Berkeley, with all the ſeignory, &c.

From hence it appears, that this objection is of little weight.

The

The foundation of this monaſtery is taken notice of by * Leland. An°. D. 1148. 3. Idus. Apr. die videlicet Paſchæ, fundatio Monaſterij S. Auguſtini Briſtol, et congregatio fratrum ejuſdem per Dnm̃. Robertum Filium Hardingi prædicti. He had juſt before given an account of his father. Hardingus ex Regiâ proſapiâ regni Daciæ oriundus fuit in tempore Gul. Conqueſtoris, & Briſtoliam inhabitavit a°. Dnī. 1069 : poſtea Dn̄s de Berkeley. We are informed by † Camden, that of the ancient and original building, belonging to the monaſtery abovementioned, a great deal in his time had been pulled down. But the principal gate remained, which he ſays, was of curious workmanſhip. There was an inſcription upon it, which is to be found both in him, and in Leland. —Rex Henricus Secundus, et Dominus Robertus Filius Hardingi, Filij Regis Daciæ, hujus Monaſterij primi Fundatores. Itin. v. vii. p. 85. This Robert Fitz Harding died in the year 1170, and together with his wife Eva was buried in the monaſtery, which he had founded, and of which before his death he became a canon. Leland takes notice of this circumſtance.—An°. D. 1170. die S. Agathiæ Virginis obijt Ds. Robertus

* Itin. vol. vi. p. 43.

† P. 96, 7.

Filius

Filius Harding, Miles et Canonicus, ac fundator Monaſter. S. Auguſtini Briſtolliæ. Itin. vol. vi. p. 43. The abby in the time of King Henry the Eighth was changed to an Epiſcopal See, and endowed with ſix prebends. The ancient church is now the cathedral. Robert Fitz Harding, of whom we have been ſpeaking, had ſeveral ſons: one of which, named after him Robert, married into the family of the * Gaunts, of whom we have treated before: and his poſterity was called by that name. They were great benefactors to Briſtol. Maurice the eldeſt ſon, married into the family of the Lords of † Berkeley: and at laſt obtained that Lordſhip; and adopted the name. From this perſon the family of the Berkeleys is ſaid to be derived; for which, among other authorities, we have that of Leland. ‡ *The firſt nobilitating of the Berkeleis of Heron was about the time of Henry the Firſte or Secunde. And then bare they not the name of Berkeley but Fitz-Harding, whereof one named Robert was a Noble-man. And in proceſſe the Fitz-Hardinges married with the heyres generales of Barkeley of Doureſley; and ſo the name of Barkeleys was taken of them and continued.*

* See Dugdale's Baronage.—Berkeley.

† See Collins's Peerage. vol. iv. p. 4.

‡ Vol. vi. p. 49.

BITHRICKUS.

BITHRICKUS.

There is ſcarcely any hiſtory referred to in the poems, about which we are engaged, ſo obſcure as that of the perſon above. No mention, as far as I can find, is made of him by any of our Engliſh hiſtorians. What can be obtained, is principally from thoſe ſcantlings of intelligence, which have been tranſmitted to us through the diligence of Leland, and ſome other antiquaries, for which we are indebted to them greatly. The name itſelf is of great antiquity, and occurs more than once in the Saxon Chronicle. It is expreſſed Brictric, Bithric, Bithricus: but the name according to the true Saxon orthography, ſeems to have been Brihtric. Our writers formerly were not very uniform in the recording of names: ſo far from it, that we find the ſame name varied by an author within the compaſs of a few lines. One perſon ſo called was a weſt Saxon king, who married the daughter of Offa the Mercian: he reigned ſixteen years, and anno 800 was buried at * Wareham. There was another, the brother of Edric, who held Mercia under † Ca-

* Saxon Chron. p. 63. l. 24. † Ibid. p. 137. l. 13.

nute

ſhute the Great: but for his repeated treachery was by order of that prince ſlain. There was another, a ſon of Ælfget, an * Earl of Devonſhire. Theſe are expreſſed † Brihtric; from whence we may learn the true Saxon appellation of the perſon mentioned in the poems.

Leland in his Itinerary has tranſmitted a curious tract taken from the Archives of Tewkeſbury Abby. Ex libello de Antiquitate Theokeſberienſis Monaſterij. In this the benefactors and patrons of that monaſtery are enumerated: and after a ſeries of many of higher antiquity, the writer comes down to Brictricus, the ſon of Algar, who is the perſon ſpoken of by the poet. He together with his father had been a great friend to the monaſtery of Cranburne in the ſame county. ‡ Algaro ſucceſſit Brictricus; Hij ampliaverunt Monaſterium de Croneburne. We may from hence perceive, that he was a Saxon; and probably a deſcendant of Brihtric the king,

* Saxon Chron. p. 151. l. 7.

† The name however is at times varied. The brother of Edric, mentioned above, is expreſſed Brichtric by Simeon Dunelmenſis, p. 118. l. 28. Brithric by John Bromton, p. 770. l. 60. and Brictric and Brictricus by Radulf de Diceto. p. 445. l. 1. Roger Hoveden, p. 430. l. 37. We muſt not therefore wonder, if Brihtric of Briſtol had his name varied in the ſame manner.

‡ Leland. vol. vi. p. 72, 73.

who is alſo mentioned as a patron of Tewkeſbury, and is ſaid to have been buried * there. By this muſt be meant that his body had been tranſlated; for he is mentioned in the † Saxon Chronicle above quoted, to have been buried at Wareham. The laſt of this name, who was the ſon of Algar, lived at the time of the Conqueſt. He was the very perſon, whoſe lands were mortgaged to Harding, the Dane, as has been mentioned before. The hiſtory of this perſon is very extraordinary; and I believe only to be obtained from what is left us of the ancient Tewkeſbury manuſcript. It is manifeſt that he was a man of great conſequence, Earl of Glouceſter: and that among other places he held his reſidence at Briſtol. He was ſent upon an embaſſy to Normandy; and as we may infer in the time of Edward the Confeſſor. Here he ſaw the Lady Matilda, daughter of Baldwin Earl of Flanders; who conceived a great eſteem for him, and made him a tender of her love. But he rejected her offers, which in the end proved the cauſe of his ruin. She was ſoon afterwards married to a perſon of more conſequence, the Duke of Normandy, the Conqueror of England: and ever retained a bitter reſentment for the ſlight, which ſhe had ſuffered. ‡ Brictricus, Imbaſſiator in Nor-

* Leland. vol. vi. p. 72. † P. 63.

‡ Leland Itin. vol. vi. p. 73.

mannia

manniâ refutavit nuptias Matildis, poſtea Uxoris Gul. Conqueſtoris. This writer obſerves, that William afterwards got poſſeſſion of England.—* Anno D. 1066, Gulielmus Dux Normann. acquiſivit Angliam. Upon this the Queen ſeems to have taken the firſt opportunity of proſecuting her revenge; and immediately ſued to the King to have Brihtric put into her hands: which requeſt was granted. She accordingly got him ſeized in one of his lordſhips, where he happened at that time to be reſident; and ſent him cloſe priſoner to Wincheſter; in which confinement after ſome time he died. † Brictricus, Dn̄s. Glouſtriæ captus in manerio ſuo de Hanleiâ, et Wintoniam ductus; ubi fine liberis obijt. Hanley is in Worceſterſhire, where there was not only a manor, but a caſtle; both of which, as we learn from ‡ Camden, belonged to the Earldom of Glouceſter. Upon his death, the Queen took this lordſhip to herſelf. § Matildis Regina honorem Gloceſtriæ mortuo Brictrico cepit. When the Queen died it was ſeized upon by the King. There is another part of Leland, where this hiſtory is given; and probably from different authority: but attended with ſome miſtakes, which may be rectified by that

* Leland Itin. vol. vi. p. 73. † Ibid.
‡ Britann. p. 626. § Leland. Itin. vol. vi. p. 73.

which has preceded. He had juſt mentioned Ælwerd, Earl of Glouceſter, the reputed founder of Cranebourne Priory; and he then adds,—* *This Ælwerdus had a ſunne callid Brictrice, Erle of Gloceter aboute the tyme of the cumming of Duke Wylliam of Normandie ynto England. Matildis wife to Wylliam Conqueror aſkid Bictrice yn gifte of her husband: and, having hym, put hym yn the caſtelle of Hanley beſide Saresbyri, and ther he dyed. Sum ſay, that Matildis wold have had hym afore Duke William to her husband; but (he) refuſing it had after hard favor at her handes.* There are ſeveral miſtakes here: he was not confined in the caſtle of Hanley: nor was that caſtle near Saliſbury. The place of his confinement was at Wincheſter, where he † died; as has been ſhewn before. The author ſubjoins—*The King gave the præferment of the Counte of Gloceſter onto his wif Matilde. After it it came to Robert Fitz-Haymo of the blode of Duke Rollo, nephew onto King William Conqueror.* This happened in the time of William Rufus, as I have before mentioned. Gu-

* Leland. Itin. vol. vi. p. 85.

† Here Brihtric is called Brictrice and Bictrice by the ſame writer, within the compaſs of four or five lines: and the Queen Matilda is rendered in the ſame page, and nearly in the ſame ſpace Matilde and Matildis. Add to this, inſtead of Algar his father is called Ælward: which perſon was his grandfather. See Leland, vol. vi. p. 72.

lielmus

lielmus Rufus proceſſu temporis dedit honorem Gloceſtriæ Robeto Filio Haymonis, cum omni libertate, quâ eam tenuit Brictricus. Leland's Itin. v. vi. p. 73. With the Earldom of Gloceſter, he had the lordſhip of Briſtol. From him by his daughter Mabile it came to Robert Conſul, and others of that family, the great benefactors of that place.

And Bryſtow thour hys wyfe was alſo hys.
Rob. of Glouceſt. p. 433.

As the Conquerour firſt gave the lordſhips of Brihtric to his Queen, we find in conſequence of it, that ſome part of his eſtates was once mortgaged to Harding the Dane: for which we have the authority of Domeſday Book. It is * there ſaid, that Harding held Whitenhort in Com. Glouc. of Earl Brictric in mortgage.

As Brihtric was a perſon of ſo great power and conſequence, we may ſuppoſe, that he was not an idle ſpectator of the troubles brought upon his country, when it was invaded by the Normans; but that he took part with Harold, to oppoſe the common enemy. In ſhort ſuch an eminent perſon could not fail of being preſent at the battle of Haſtings. I do not know of any hiſtory to authenticate this: but, what is extraordinary, he is thus repreſented in the poem con-

* Domeſday Book. Glouceſter.

cerning that battle. And what is ſtill more remarkable, he is introduced at the head of the very people from Briſtol.

Bythric and Alfwold hedde the Briſtowe band.
p. 243. v. 116.

We find here, as we have in many paſſages before, a wonderful coincidence of circumſtance, in confirmation of the hiſtory afforded us by the poet.

FESCAMP, or FESCHAMP.

In the Memoirs of Sir William * Canninge, Rowley informs us, that he tranſlated the Battle of Haſtings from a Saxon Mſſ. which he had purchaſed. That one copy of it he left with Maſter Pelham of Aſhley; who was to have given him a compenſation for his trouble. But upon his making him a viſit on that account afterwards, he was greatly diſappointed; and could obtain neither money nor copy. And the reaſon was this; as he informs us himſelf:—*I did goe to Aſhley to maſter Pelham*, &c.—*but his ladie being of the family of the Fiſcamps, of whom ſome things are ſaid, he told me, he had burnt it; and would*

* See Miſcell. in proſe and verſe, by T. Chatterton. London 1778. p. 127.

have

have me burnt too, if I did not avaunt. During this dinn his wife did come out, and made a dinn, to ſpeak by a figure, would have overſounded the bells of our Ladie of the Cliffe. I was fain content to gett away in a ſafe ſkinn. The circumſtances alluded to, which gave this great offence, are contained in the following lines.

Nexte Feſcampe felle, O Chreiſte, how harde his fate,
To die the leckedſt knyghte of all the thronge!
His ſprite was made of malice deſlavate,
Ne ſhoulden find a place in anie ſonge, &c.

p. 254. v. 341.

This was, what aggrieved the Lady ſo ſorely: who, it ſeems, could not bear the diſgrace, which was brought upon her family.

If C. were the author of this poem, I cannot conceive, how he could arrive at this name: nor what could induce him to annex this piece of hiſtory to it. I know, it has been ſaid, that he might eaſily have acceſs to the books, which contain Battle roll; and from thence borrow this name with many others that he has introduced. But what reaſon is there to think, he had ever heard of Battle roll; or that he was the leaſt converſant in the books in which it is contained? Beſides, the name in that liſt, as we find it in Hollinſhed, is Fliſchampe: and if that be not the name, it is not to be found there at all. If C. had acceſs to this liſt, how came

ne not to copy the name as he found it? By ſome it is expreſſed Feſkamp; particularly in the liſt of Grafton: and that of Wilhelm de Worceſtre by Hearne. The true hiſtory of it is this. The names of the nobility and gentry, who attended William the Conquerour, were for the moſt part taken from the places of their reſidence in Normandy. Such were Sacchevile, Lungvile, Bernvile, Greenvile; Lungchampe, Beauchampe; and among others, Feſchamp. It is the name of a ſmall town, not a great way from Dieppe; but ſtill nearer to Havre and Harfleur. I cannot be induced to believe, that C. was appriſed of this, for his knowledge in geography will be found to be very limited; of which I ſhall afford good proof. The true name was certainly Feſcampe, or Feſchampe.

As to the character given to this unfortunate knight in the poem, it was undoubtedly ſo exhibited in the original, which Rowley copied: and the account of the lady's reſentment upon this ſcore, with all its conſequences, is too artleſs, and too well connected to have been a forgery. The only hiſtorian, who like Rowley has tranſmitted this name truly, is Matthew Paris. He ſpeaks of one of the family, who was made Prior of Wymondham, or Wyndham, in Norfolk. But he, like his anceſtor, was found deficient,

as

as we learn from this writer. * Loco autem Radulphi de Witeby, Prioris de Wymondham, Gulielmum de Feſchamp, virum minus quam expediret diſcretum, ſubrogavit Abbas. In conſequence of his inability, he was ſoon turned out. I mentioned above the name being by † Rowley and Matt. Paris tranſmitted *truly*: My reaſon is, becauſe it agrees with the name of the place in Normandy, from whence it was taken: which is a ſure teſt.

However, it is certain, that though ſome of this name may have behaved ill, yet it was a reſpectable family: one of which, called Remigius, was in the reign of Rufus, Biſhop of Dorcheſter: but finding that the place was not of ſufficient note, being greatly fallen to decay, he had the intereſt to have the See removed to Lincoln. He is ſpoken of as a perſon of a noble and liberal mind by William of ‡ Malmſbury, and others. One inſtance of his munificence appears in his building at his own coſt the Cathedral of his new See. He was oppoſed in the proſecution of this work by Thomas the Archbiſhop of

* Vitæ Sancti Albani Abbatum. p. 121.

† By Rowley it is expreſſed Feſcampe: by Matthew Paris Feſchamp: the difference is of little conſequence.

‡ See Will. Malmſburienſis de Pontificibus. p. 290. Lambarde's Typ. and Hiſt. Dict. p. 91, and 182.

York:

* York: but we are told by Henry of Huntingdon, that he did not regard his obſtructions. † Remigius vero nihil ducens impetitionem ejus non ſegniter opus inceptum peregit: peractumque Clericis doctrinâ et moribus approbatiſſimis decoravit. Erat ſiquidem ſtaturâ parvus, ſed corde magnus: colore fuſcus, ſed operibus venuſtus. He lived to ſee the completion of this great work: but died in 1092, two days before the dedication. Le Neve mentions him, and expreſſes his name truly ‡ Feſchamp.

NIGEL or NYGELLE.

The poet in his ſecond Eclogue introduces a perſon, whoſe father is gone with King Richard Coeur de Lion, in his war to the Holy-Land: and for whoſe ſafety he offers up his prayers.

Sprytes of the bleſte, the pious Nygelle ſed
Poure oute yer pleſaunce onn mie fadres hedde. p. 6.

I take this poem to be of great antiquity; nearly as old as the times, to which it refers:

* Rerum Ang. Script. poſt Bedam. p. 290. See Henry Knyghton de Event. Ang. 2364.

† Rerum Ang. Script. poſt Bedam. p. 371. The like is mentioned in Chronicle of John Bromton. p. 983.

‡ Faſti. p. 148.

though

though it ſeems to have ſuffered ſome alteration by the principal perſon, through whoſe hands we have received it. We my ſuppoſe the Nygelle, who is made the Speaker, from his being ſtiled the pious, to have been ſome ſaint-like perſonage: and probably an Abbot or Prior of a monaſtery, founded by one of his family. In this Eclogue he anticipates all that he wiſhes; and gives a curious and prophetic deſcription of the landing of the Chriſtian army in Paleſtine; and of the ſucceſſes in conſequence of it. By the ſequel we find, that his father was one of thoſe, who had embarked in this expedition with King Richard: and whom he has the ſatisfaction to ſee upon his return landing from his ſhip; before he had well finiſhed the invocation made for his ſafety.

The name ſeems to have been very ancient; and came firſt to England with the Conqueror. It appears to have been originally from Coutances in Normandy; as we may infer from William Gemiticenſis, p. 634. l. 33. One of this name was at the Holy War, as we may learn from John Bromton, p. 1191: who mentions Nigel de Mowbray among thoſe, who loſt their lives during the ſiege of Acra: A. D. 1191. It may not be eaſy to determine preciſely concerning the perſon referred to by the poet;

and whom he makes the ſpeaker in the poems. Yet ſo much light may poſſibly be obtained, as to ſhew ſome propriety in the invocation; and that a real fact was alluded to.

I have mentioned, that this perſon from his title of *pious*, ſeems to have belonged to ſome religious houſe: which might have been founded by one of this name. For we read of people denominated, Nigel and Fitz-Nigel, who were remarkable for their devotion; and were the founders of ſeveral churches, and convents. We find by Harpſfield, that a monaſtery exiſted at Greſley in Derbyſhire, founded by one of this name. Greſleyæ Templum Sancti Georgij fundavit Gulielmus de Lyons, dictus Fitz-Nigell, Normannus, p. 751. Another church and convent is mentioned by the ſame writer in Cheſhire at Norton. Templum Sanctæ Mariæ fundavit Gulielmus Fitz-Nigel, p. 751. A third occurs near Oxford. Oxonij Templum Sanctæ Mariæ Oſneyenſis fundavit Robertus filius Nigelli, fratris Roberti D'Oiley Normanni. A.D. 1129. Monachi Nigri Canones. Harpsfield, p. 768. This place is ſpoken of at large by Lambarde; who ſays, that the convent was erected at the perſuaſion of Edith, the wife of this Robert. And that ſhe was led to it by the conſtant chattering of ſome Pies, whenever ſhe took her walks

in

in the meads of Oſney. This chattering of the birds was interpreted to her by a Canon of St. Frideſwyde, as an admonition towards that pious purpoſe. * Typog. Hiſt. p. 260. This Robert, or at leaſt a perſon of the ſame name, is mentioned by Leland as a benefactor to the monaſtery of Bethleſdene. Vol. vi. p. 42. A Nigel de Mowbray founded the Priory of Saint Mary Overies. And a perſon of the ſame name confirmed many lands to the Monks of Monkſkerby in Warwickſhire; which had been given by Nigel his grandfather, and by other anceſtors. Dugdale, vol. iii. p. 231. a. In the reign of Rufus there was a Nigel, Abbot of Lilleſhull in agro Salopienſi. Dugd. vol. ii. p. 144. There were likewiſe biſhops of this name: one of which is mentioned as preſiding at Ely, in the year 1130. There was alſo a Nigel, a Monk of Canterbury, who lived in the time of Richard the Firſt, and is taken notice of by T. Hearne in his notes to William of Newbury, p. 806. He mentions a letter of this perſon to William Biſhop of Ely, in which he complained of ſome of the clergy being expelled from the churches of Canterbury and Wincheſter. The biſhop to whom he wrote, was William Longchamp, whom we find to have been conſecrated in

* See alſo Dugdale's Monaſt. vol. ii. p. 136.

the year 1189: which was the firſt of the above King Richard. The hiſtory of this Nigel agrees very well with the times alluded to in the poem: but whether he is the perſon there mentioned cannot be determined. Perſons of this name occur in Doomſday Book, among thoſe who held lands of the Conqueror. It does not ſeem to have been ſtrictly an hereditary name: yet it ran in particular families.

CHRISTMAS GAMES.

The account given of theſe games, was compoſed by C.; and contains very little that is new or ſatisfactory. Yet he had a retroſpect to the Mſſ. which he had read; and out of theſe produced, in an irregular manner, what little he had gained. One inſtance to this purpoſe we may perceive in the following account. * *A Regiſter of the Nunnery of Keynſham relates, that William, earl of Gloceſter, entertained two hundred knights with tilts and fortunys, at his great manor of Keynſham.* This place had been a nunnery, and lay in ruins: but was rebuilt by the perſon above mentioned. To this Leland bears witneſs, who ſpeaks of him by name. *Wil-*

* Miſcell. in proſe and verſe by T. C. p. 131.

liam

liam Erle of Gloceſtar, foundar of the Monaſterye of Caineſham, gave the præfecture and Maſturſhipe of the Schole in Brightſtow to Caineſham, and tooke it from the Calenderies. Itin. vol. vi. p. 74. Of the hoſpitality of the family I have ſpoken before, in the account given of Robert, the father of this perſon. Robertus Nothus ſolebat ſingulis ſolennibus diebus habere ſecum Abbatem de Theokeſbyri cum 12 Monachis Briſtoliæ. ib. vol. viii. p. 74. This Abbey of Cainſham was changed at its reſtoration to an houſe of Black Fryars. Keynſhamiæ Templum Sanctæ Mariæ fundavit Gulielmus Dux Gloceſtriæ. M. Nigri Monachi. Harpsfeld, p. 772. Leland tells us, that Robert, the firſt Earl died,—pridie Cal. Novembres ſub. a°. D. 1140, &c. He then adds—Gulielmus ejus filius ſucceſſit. Duxit in uxorem Hawiſiam filiam Comitis Leirceſtriæ, genuitque ex eâ Robertum, qui ante patrem obijt.

Sepultus fuit Robertus in Abbatiâ de Caineſham, quam Gulielmus ejus Pater in filij ſui Roberti memoriam erexerat. Itin. l. 6. p. 74.

FORTUNIES.

That Chatterton had manuſcripts before him, from whence he extracted ſome of theſe ſhort

ſhort hiſtories, I am perſuaded, both from theſe hiſtories being ſo remote, and difficult to be traced; and alſo from the terms, with which they are accompanied, being ſo very uncommon. An inſtance to this purpoſe we have in the paſſage above, about William Earl of Glouceſter—*who entertained two hundred knights with tilts and fortunys.* One would at firſt think that this was a miſtake for *tilts* and *tournys*. But it is not ſo: for we find, that of old Tournaments were ſtiled *Fortunes*. Accordingly Matthew Paris, treating of the reign of Henry the Third, ſpeaks of a ſolemn tilting, held by the Earl Mareſchal Gilbert, near * Hertford, in which he loſt his life: and he ſtiles it fortunium. Dum autem temporum volubilitas mundo diverſis ſic caſibus alluderet, et illuderet, Comes Mareſcallus Gelebertus, cum quibuſdam alijs nobilibus juxta Hertfordiam, quantum jacit Arcubaliſta, more militari, quoddam Haſtiludium, quod vulgariter *fortunium*——appellatur, ad virium ceperat et exercuit experimenta. p. 565. l. 47. It occurs in another place, where the king is expoſtulating with the brother of the deceaſed. Et tu, Waltere,

* According to Robert of Glouceſter, the Tournament was at Ware.

At the tornment of Wareine Sir Gilebert the Marſchal
Defouled was thoru meſauntre, &c. p. 529. l. 29.

qui

qui me invito et prohibente, in contemptum meum, ipſe torneamento interfuiſti, et ſophiſticè illud *Fortunium* appellâſti, quâ ratione, quâ fronte, poſtulas hæreditatem? Ibid. p. 572. l. 47.—Fortunium: Haſtiludium, torneamentum. Du Cange. The term ſeems to be peculiar to England: and even here by no means very common.

FARTHER OBSERVATIONS upon the Ordination of Maſter W. Canynge.

The account given of this event, and alſo of the cauſe by which it was brought about, is thus deſcribed in the * Memoirs by Rowley. *In the year Kyng Edward came to Briſtow, maſter Cannings ſend for me to avoide a marrige which the Kyng was bent upon between him and a Ladie he neer had ſeen, of the familee of the † Widdeviles. The danger were nigh, unleſs avoided by one remedee, an holie one, which was, to be ordained a ſonn of holy church, beyng franke from the power of Kynges in that caſe, and cannot be wedded.—Mr. Cannings inſtauntly ſent me to Carpenter, his good friend,*

* See Miſcell. in proſe and verſe, &c.—by Thomas Chatterton, p. 125, 6.

† It is ſo expreſſed in the account given by Mr. Tyrwhitt in his Preface to Rowley's Poems, p. xxiii.

biſhop of Worceſter; and the fryday following was prepaird and ordaynd the nexte day, the daie of St. Mathew, and on Sunday ſung his firſt maſs in the church of our Ladie, to the aſtoniſhing of Kyng Edward, &c. I have mentioned the very curious evidence brought by Mr. Tyrwhitt from the Worceſter * Regiſter in confirmation of this hiſtory. By that we are informed, that Mr. Cannynge was ordained by Biſhop Carpenter on the 19th of September, and received the higher orders afterwards. This is a ſtrong atteſtation to the truth of Rowley, both in reſpect to the matter of fact, and the time of year, when it happened. The Biſhop's Regiſter ſays, that it was upon the 19th of September: and in the account given by Rowley, it is marked by the day of St. Matthew; which is preciſely the ſame ſeaſon of the year.

But the whole may be ſtill proved to a greater degree of accuracy. In the account by Rowley we are only told, that Cannynge was examined upon a Friday, admitted upon a Saturday, and then did duty upon a Sunday. On the other hand, the Biſhop's Regiſter ſpecifies the year, when he was admitted, to have been 1467; and the day of the month, *the 19th of September*. Here then is the teſt, by which the authenticity of our author is

* See Introduction to Rowley's Poems, p. xxiii.

to

to be tried. If theſe evidences on each ſide do not correſpond, the whole falls to the ground. Was therefore the 19th of September, in the year ſpecified, a *Saturday*; and was the preceding day (the 18th) a *Friday*: and the ſubſequent in conſequence of it a *Sunday*, as Rowley has taught us to ſuppoſe? Laſtly, do we find at this ſeaſon of the year the faſt of St. Matthew? It may be proved, that every one of theſe circumſtances is true: for by a retro-calculation it will appear, that the 19th of September was a *Saturday*; and the other days of the week preciſely as repreſented: all which, in reſpect to the writer's veracity, is little ſhort of demonſtration.

I once thought, that there was a ſmall miſtake in the account above given, which had ariſen from the words not being accurately tranſcribed: and could be rectified with great eaſe. We find, that the affair of Maſter Canynge was very preſſing: and there was no time to be loſt. The parties therefore, which were concerned, made uſe of the greateſt expedition. According to the words of the tranſcript—*On the friday Canninge was prepared, and ordaynd the next day, the daie of* ST. MATHEW; and on SUNDAY *ſung his firſt Maſs*. But the next day to Friday, the 18th, was Saturday the 19th, which could not be the day of St. Matthew: for the day of that

Saint is the 20th of September; and marked in the Calendar D. And as the Sunday letter for the year 1467 was D, the day of St. Matthew, that is the vigil or faſt, does not regularly come next to Friday; but muſt properly have fallen upon a Sunday. Hence it is plain, that Friday was the 18th, and Saturday the 19th of that month: which Saturday intervened between Friday, and the day of St. Matthew. There are three facts mentioned of Canynge; which took up the ſame number of days for their completion: his *preparation*, *admiſſion*; and his *firſt performance* of ſervice in the church, all which by the Regiſter of Worceſter are ſhewn to have been compleated at the time, and upon the very days, ſpecified by the author. The only ſeeming defect was the placing of St. Matthew's day upon the 19th, or Saturday, inſtead of Sunday. But I was aſſured by a very learned friend, that every thing was right: for it was the conſtant uſage of the church, when the feſtival happened upon a Monday, to keep the faſt on the Saturday preceding, and not on the Sunday. And, I believe, in all Collegiate Churches and Colleges the cuſtom is ſtill adhered to.

This is a very extraordinary confirmation of the hiſtory: and the proceſs, which was ſhort in conſequence of the exigency, may from hence be very ſatisfactorily made out.

Rowley

Rowley was about the middle of September ſent to the Biſhop at Weſtbury. His words are, Mr. Canynges *inſtauntly ſent me:* and we may preſume, that Canynge immediately followed, upon the Biſhop being ready to admit him. The courſe of the tranſaction in all its circumſtances was in the following order.

September 1467. Sunday Letter D.

E	14	
F	15	
G	16	On Wedneſday, or
A	17	Thurſday, Rowley ſent to Bp. Carpenter.
B	18	Friday, Canynge goes over, & is prepared.
C	19	Saturday, the Faſt of St. Matthew; he is ordained.
D	20	Sunday—He firſt performs duty.
E	21	Monday, the Feaſt of St. Matthew.

The words of Rowley are therefore in every reſpect true. *Mr. Cannings inſtauntly ſent me to Carpenter, his good friend, Biſhop of Worceſter; and the Friday following was prepaird; and ordaynd the nexte day, the day of St. Matthew: and on Sunday, ſung his firſt maſs in the church of our Ladie.*

I have taken notice, that Canynge after all, was obliged to pay three thouſand marks to obtain the king's forgiveneſs: a ſum incredible, were it not for the evidence of William

of Worceſtre. He mentions the fact at large: and ſhews from the immenſe trade and wealth of this perſon, that it was no more than might be expected from him. In ſhort, though the hiſtories be remote, of a private nature, and obſcure, yet moſt of the circumſtances mentioned by Rowley concerning his friend Canynge; of his riches, magnificence and repute; alſo of his brother and family; of Biſhop Carpenter, and his ordination under him, &c. &c. are verified by ſubſequent writers.

It is to be obſerved, that in the account above given by Rowley of his valuable friend; he, who before was ſtiled ſimply Maſter William Canynge, is now diſtinguiſhed by the title of Sir William. From hence ſome have been led to think, that he had been * knighted by King Edward. But the truth is, he had now been admitted into holy orders; and was a prieſt: and it is upon this account, that the title is conferred. It was expreſſed both *Sir* and *Sire*, and we have the following curious hiſtory of it in Mr. Tyrwhitt's Gloſſary to his excellent Edition of Chaucer. *Sire: n. Fr. Sieur, Seigneur. A reſpectful title given formerly to men of various deſcriptions, as well as to knights. Sire Knight*, 839.

* See Miſcell. in proſe and verſe by T. C. p. 118.

Sire

Sire Clerk, 842. *Sire Monk*, 3120.—— *It was ſo uſually given to prieſts, that it has even crept into Acts of Parliament.*——*Hence a Sir John came to be a nickname for a Prieſt.* See Gloſſ. vol. v. p. 192. Agreeably to this in theſe very poems, we read more than once of Sir Roger the Parſon, p. 13. v. 17. and of a perſon ſtiled Sir Prieſt. To theſe might be added numberleſs inſtances from other writers; particularly the noted Sir Hugh Evans in Shakeſpear. I have before mentioned the atteſtation of William de Worceſtre, concerning the hiſtory of this celebrated perſon Canynge. He there ſpeaks of his death, which happened in the year 1474: and ſtiles him * *Dominus* Willelmus Canynges: which agrees with the title of *Sir* given in Engliſh. Had he ſpoken of him before his ordination in 1467, he would have only called him—*Magiſter*. There is a happy concurrence of circumſtances in all theſe inquiries: and freſh light ſeems continually to ariſe in confirmation of the whole.

* P. 83.

AUTHORITIES

FOR PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

OBſervations upon the Names in different Liſts
The Sieur de Bonneboe
Names of Saxons
Bithric or Brictric
Alric and Algar
Eilward
Alfie
Alured
Alfwold
Goodrick
Toſſelin
Mervyn
Herewarde
Bertram
Normanne
Manne
Tatwyne
Continuation.

AUTHO-

AUTHORITIES

FOR PERSONS MENTIONED BY THE POET IN THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

THE names of the Normans, which occur in this poem, are in great meaſure found to correſpond with the records of the times. Thoſe, who are willing to believe, that the young man of Briſtol was the author of theſe compoſitions, ſuppoſe, that he got his intelligence from the well-known Roll of Battle Abby. But that liſt will not ſuffice for one half of the perſons mentioned: though their names may be in great meaſure aſcertained from other authorities. There are ſeveral liſts beſides that of Battle: but they are ſo little obvious, that I can hardly think, that Chatterton was at all acquainted with them: though he is ſaid to have had acceſs to a *Circulating Library*. This muſt have been but

but a poor help towards the obtaining of that knowledge, with which theſe poems abound. In reſpect to the liſts ſpoken of, there are eight, of which I ſhall principally make uſe: and they all differ greatly from one another. In Holinſhed we have two of them; the Norman catalogue, taken from the Chronicles of William Tailleur; and the Roll of Battle: and in Stow we meet with the ſame: yet I ſpeak of them as different liſts, becauſe they are found very unlike upon comparing. Stow has likewiſe preſerved another catalogue to the ſame purpoſe, for which, he ſays, he was indebted to Maiſter Thomas Scriven, Eſquire. To theſe ſix is to be added a liſt preſerved by John Bromton, and to be found in the collection ſtiled, Scriptores Angliæ Decem. p. 963. The names are claſſed in couplets according to their terminations, and made to rhyme. The laſt liſt is that of Wilhelmus Wyrceſter; to be found in Hearne's Edition of the Liber Niger Scaccarij, vol. ii. p. 522. The names are here too for the moſt part claſſed according to their terminations, but not in rhyme. Both Hollinſhed and Stow have applied to the ſame ſource for intelligence: to the Chronicles of William, or Guilliam, Tailleur for the Norman Chronicle; and to the Battle Roll for the other liſt. But they vary greatly both in reſpect to numbers and names. Ac-

cording

cording to Holinſhed, the former contains the names of 260 perſons. The Battle liſt 644. According to Stow, the former has but 151 names; and the latter but 406. In Graſton the Roll of Battle amounts to 647. In the ancient catalogue from Maſter Thomas Scriven, there are only 375. The Chronicle of John Bromton affords only 240: that of Wilhelm of Wyrceſter amount to 323. Theſe all differ from one another: and have each ſome particular names, which are not preſerved by the other writers. Hence, what is not to be found in ſeven liſts, may often be obtained from the eighth. The names may be ſtill farther authenticated from the Norman nobility, mentioned in the early reigns after the Conqueſt by Matthew Paris, and other writers. The hiſtories alſo of many of the perſons may by theſe helps be aſcertained.

How much one catalogue varies from another, may in ſome degree be ſeen from the ſubſequent ſcheme: where all the Norman names, mentioned by the poet, are introduced in a column: and oppoſite are placed the ſeveral liſts, in which they are to be found.

G. ſignifies

G. signifies the Battle Roll by Grafton.
H. N. C. Holinſhed's Norman Catalogue.
H. B. R. Holinſhed's Battle Roll.
S. N. C. Stow's Norman Catalogue.
S. B. R. Stow's Battle Roll.
T. S. The Liſt of Thomas Scriven.
I. B. The Liſt of John Bromton.
W. W. The Liſt of Wilhelm of Wyrceſter.

	G.	H. N. C.	
Anguillain	G.	- -	
Aubene	- -	- -	
D'Aubignie	- -	N. C.	
Auffroi	- -	- -	
De Beque	G.	- -	
De Beere	- -	- -	
Du Broque	- -	- -	Broc.
Beaumonte	G.	N. C.	
Bonoboe	- -	N. C.	Bonnobault.
Du Burlie	- -	- -	
Bote Villain	- -	- -	G. Boteville.
Claremond	- -	- -	
Campygnon	G.	- -	Campeny.
Chantillon	G.	- -	Chantelow.
Chatelet	- -	- -	Chattelein.
Chivellois	G.	- -	Shevile.
Deſtoutville	G.	N. C.	
Sieur Doullie	- -	- -	
Feſcampe	- -	N. C.	Fliſcamp and Fleſcamp.
Fitz du Gore	G.	- -	G. Gower.
De Griel	G.	- -	
Hubert	- -	- -	
Fitz Hugh	G.	- -	
Longville	G.	N. C.	G. Logeville.
Du Laque			

	G.	H. N. C.	H. B. R.	S. N. C.	S. B. R.	T. S.	I. B.	W. W.	
Anguillain	G.	- -	- -	- -	B. R.				
Aubene	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.			
D'Aubignie	- -	N. C.	B. R.	N. C.					
Auffroi	- -	- -	- -	N. C.					
De Beque	G.	- -	B. R.	N. C.	B. R.				
De Beere	- -	- -	- -	N. C.	B. R.				
Du Broque	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	W. W.	Broc.
Beaumonte	G.	N. C.	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	I. B.		
Bonoboe	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Bonnobault.
Du Burlie	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Bote Villain	- -	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	I. B.	W. W.	G. Boteville.
Claremond	- -	- -	B. R.						
Campygnon	G.	- -	- -	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	Campeny.
Chantillon	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	I. B.	- -	Chantelow.
Chatelet	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	W. W.	Chattelein.
Chivellois	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	Shevile.
Deſtoutville	G.	N. C.	B. R.	- -	- -	T. S.			
Sieur Doullie	- -	- -	- -	N. C.					
Feſcampe	- -	N. C.	B. R.	N. C.	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	Fliſcamp and Fleſcamp.
Fitz du Gore	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	W. W.	G. Gower.
De Griel	G.	- -	B. R.						
Hubert	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Fitz Hugh	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Longville	G.	N. C.	- -	N. C.	B. R.	- -	I. B.	W. W.	G. Logeville.
Du Laque									

Bartrammel Manne	- -	- -	
Du Moline	- -	N. C.	
Norcei	G.	- -	Noreice, Norece.
Neville	- -	- -	
Nabour	- -	- -	Nebors.
Normanne			
Partais	- -	N. C.	Partenais, and Patais.
Pierce	- -	- -	
Fitz Port	- -	- -	
Pikenny	G.	- -	
Du Roee	G.	- -	Roes, Roſe, Rous.
Sarnarville	- -	N. C.	Salnarville.
Sancelotte			
De Tracie	G.	N. C.	
Du Torcie	G.	N. C.	
Tankarville	G.	N. C.	
Troy Villain	- -	- -	perhaps Trevillian.
Viponte	- -	N. C.	
Du Valle	G.	- -	Surdeival for Sieur du Va
Walleris	G.	- -	
Warren	G.	- -	
Romara	- -	N. C.	
Villain	G.	- -	Vilan.

Bartrammel Manne	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.			
Du Moline	- -	N. C.	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	I. B.		
Norcei	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	Norcice, Norece.
Neville	- -	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	I. B.	W. W.	
Nabour	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	I. B.	- -	Nebors.
Normanne									
Partais	- -	N. C.	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	- -	- -	Partenais, and Patais.
Pierce	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Fitz Port	- -	- -	- -	N. C.					
Pikenny	G.	- -	B. R.	N. C.	B. R.	- -	I. B.		
Du Roee	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	T. S.	I. B.	W. W.	Roes, Rofe, Rous.
Sarnarville	- -	N. C.	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	- -	- -	Salnarville.
Sancelotte									
De Tracie	G.	N. C.	B. R.	N. C.	- -	T. S.	- -	W. W.	
Du Torcie	G.	N. C.							
Tankarville	G.	N. C.	- -	N. C.					
Troy Villain	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	perhaps Trevillian.
Viponte	- -	N. C.	- -	- -	- -	- -	I. B.		
Du Valle	G.	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	W. W.	Surdeival for Sieur du Val
Walleris	G.	- -	- -	N. C.					
Warren	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	T. S.	I. B.		
Romara	- -	N. C.	- -	N. C.					
Villain	G.	- -	B. R.	- -	B. R.	- -	- -	- -	Vilan.

OBSERVATIONS upon the NAMES.

I have mentioned, that many of theſe names, introduced by the poet, are to be found in our Engliſh hiſtorians: particularly in Matthew Paris; and in that collection, ſtiled Hiſtoriæ Anglicæ Scriptores Antiqui. Of theſe names the following are the moſt remarkable. Aubeney, Beer, Beaumont, Beke, Broque or Broc, Burlie, Botevilayne, Clermont, Greyle, Moleyns, Nebors, Noreice, Pikenny, D'Eſtoutville, Tracy, Tankerville, Warren.

But however they may be by theſe means authenticated, we may from this inveſtigation, and from the diſpoſition of the ſcheme above, perceive, that they lie ſcattered, and are not uniformly to be obtained from any writer: nor without long and laborious inquiry. And even when they are ſuppoſed to be found, they are not always expreſſed preciſely in the ſame manner. Some of the names appear at firſt ſo ſtrange, that were it not for the evidences above afforded, one would imagine, that they never exiſted; but that they were formed at hazard to fill up the poem. Such are the Sieur Doullie and Bartrammel Manne, and the Sieur de Bonneboe. For ſome few

there ſeems to be no authority; ſuch as the Sieur de Laque: unleſs we ſuppoſe this to be a miſtake for de Lacy. A perſon of this name appears to have been of great eminence; and upon his ſettling in England, had large poſſeſſions given him by the Conquerour. In like manner the perſon called by the poet Chivellois is the ſame, who by William of Worceſtre is ſtiled *Shevile*. And we may preſume, that Chantillon is no other than the *Chantelow* of Battle Roll and Bromton. Hence we may perceive, that in ſome inſtances the names are more truly expreſſed by the poet, than by ſome of our hiſtorians. For the proper name of Normanne we have no authority in any liſt: I ſhall however bring ſufficient evidence hereafter, that ſuch a perſon exiſted; and that he came over with the Conquerour.

The SIEUR DE BONNEBOE.

This perſon is ſaid to have been ſlain by Egelrede in the Battle above mentioned: and the account given of him agrees well with the hiſtory of the times. We are informed, that in the reign of King Edward he had made a viſit to that prince: whoſe court is known to have ſwarmed with foreigners. He there

there at a Tournament won the heart of a Saxon lady, whom he married, and carried with him to Normandy: and by her he had two children. But being obliged to attend the Duke in his expedition againſt Harold, he had the misfortune to be ſlain in the battle. The poet ſays of Egelrede—

He couch'd hys launce, and ran wyth mickle myghte
Ageinſte the breſt of Sieur de Bonoboe.

p. 216. v. 135.

He dy'd and leffed wyfe and chyldren tweine,
Whom he wyth cheryſhment did dearlie love;
In Englandes court in goode Kynge Edward's regne,
He wonne the tylt, and ware her crymſon glove, &c.

And thence unto the place, where he was borne
Together with hys welthe, and better wyfe,
To Normandie he dyd perdie returne,
In peace and quietneſſe to lead his lyfe,
And now wyth ſovrayn Wyllyam he came,
To die in battel, &c. p. 217.

The name of this perſon does not occur in the liſts of Battle Roll; nor in that of John Bromton, but it is undoubtedly the ſame, which is mentioned in the Chronicles of Normandy, and expreſſed Le Seigneur Bonnebault. This Boneboe, or Bonnebault, was one of the principal perſons, who led the Archers of * Rueil and Bretviel, with thoſe from other places in Normandy: to whoſe

* Chron. of Normandy by Guilliam Tayleur; quoted by Stow, p. 104.

ſkill and addreſs the victory of Haſtings was chiefly owing.

The names, of which we have been treating, were obvious to a perſon of the times, and ever ready to be produced, when the writer had occaſion to mention them. But it is ſeen in reſpect to us, who live ſo long after the event, how ſcattered they lie, and how difficult to be obtained. The compoſition muſt therefore have been by an early hand. To think that the real author went, and gleaned for theſe evidences, is idle. Whoever goes ſo far for ſtraw and ſtubble to make his bricks will never raiſe an edifice.

NAMES OF SAXONS.

Farther Obſervations concerning Brithric or Brictric.

If we meet with theſe difficulties in our reſearches concerning the Normans, there will be found ſtill greater in reſpect to the Saxons; of whom no liſts have been tranſmitted. The brothers of Harold, (Toſti, Gyrth, and Leofyne) are well known. They were too much intereſted in the revolution, which happened, not to be recorded. But of the other perſons mentioned on the ſame ſide, there is hardly a trace left in the accounts

of thoſe times: ſo that to many they may have appeared as imaginary characters, the work of poetical fancy. For it is not only difficult to get any inſight into the general occurrences of their lives; but even to arrive at authorities for their names: as hardly any of them are to be found, where we might moſt naturally expect them. Yet ſuch perſons did really exiſt, as ſhall be abundantly ſhewn. They were of great rank and eminence in their time; and had large poſſeſſions; however ſilent hiſtorians may be concerning them. In ſhort they were by no means imaginary perſonages, as has been, I believe, by many ſurmiſed.

It happens fortunately, that there are ſome evidences ſtill remaining, though not very obvious, by which their hiſtory may be authenticated. Theſe, to which I allude, may be found in Doomſday Book: where the identity of the perſons ſpoken of, may with great probability be aſcertained from the eſtates, which were forfeited at the Conqueſt. * Brictric, of whom I have before made mention,

* This name is expreſſed Brictric, Brittrick, Bithric, and Brihtric. There was, as I have before mentioned, a king of the Weſt Saxons ſo called, who married Edburga, the daughter of King Offa. His name is rendered by Robert of Brun, Brittrick: in the Saxon Chronicle Byrthric: and Brithrick by Speed, and ſe-

tion, is no where taken notice of by any regular hiſtorian. We caſually learn from Leland, that he was the ſon of Algar. And he was alſo Earl of Gloceſter, and Lord of Hanley: in conſequence of which he held other lands in the county of Worceſter; where that lordſhip was ſituated. This we may learn from the evidence of the Doomſday Record.

* De eodem manerio tenuit Brictric, filius Algar, unam hidam ad Biſelege (in Com. Wirceſtre) &c.—modo eſt in manu Regis Willelmi.

De eodem manerio tenuit Brictric filius Algari unam hidam ad Burgelege, eodem modo, quo ſupradictam. Nunc eſt in manu Regis. ibid.

We find that it is ſaid of this perſon, *tenuit: he did once hold theſe lands:* becauſe, at the time of this book being compiled, great

veral other writers. In the proſe additions to the Mſſ. of Robert of Glouceſter, it is expreſſed Brightric. See Chron. of P. Langtoft by Rob. of Brun. p. 12. b. notes. Hence Brictric, Bithric, Brihtric, &c. are undoubtedly the name of the ſame perſon varied.

* Hemingi Chartæ Eccleſ. Wigorn. a T. Hearne, p. 491. I obtained this intelligence from the book referred to. But I have ſince had an opportunity of conſulting the original, by the means of my moſt intelligent and excellent friend George Roſe, Eſquire, Keeper of the Records in the Receipt of Exchequer, &c.: to whoſe furtherance and friendſhip I am greatly indebted.

part

part of his lands had been alienated; and were in the poſſeſſion of other people. The eſtates above are ſaid to be, in manu Regis: alſo in manu Regis Willelmi, *in the hands of William the King*. The term in general is *tenet* in the preſent tenſe. Whenever it is the paſt, it relates to forfeited lands: and the perſons may be known to have been Saxons by their names.

How powerful Brictric muſt have been, may be known from the other eſtates, of which he was deprived. I have before taken notice of the Queen's reſentment towards him: in conſequence of which, as ſoon as ever ſhe arrived at any influence, ſhe ſeized upon the beſt of his lands. Of this we have a ſtrong proof in the account given in Doomſday Book of Devonſhire.

Infra Scriptas terras tenuit Brictric: et poſt Mathildis Regina. p. 101. b.

Theſe lands were very ample, and lay in the pariſhes of Levia, Halgewelle, Clovelie, Bedeford, Liteham, Langtreve, and ten more. In another place, mention is made of lands ſeized by the Queen in Dorſetſhire: among which were thoſe of Creneburne, Aiſemare, and Medeſham: and at the cloſe it is ſaid, Hæc tria maneria tenuit Brictric tempore Regis Eduardi, p. 75. c. His largeſt poſſeſſions ſeem to have been in the county, of

which he was Earl. He held Turneberie, Sopeberie, Aveninge, and Fairford. Of the laſt it is ſaid: Hoc manerium tenuit Mathildis Regina. p. 163. d. He alſo had Tedekeſberie (Tewkeſbury.) Hoc manerium tenuit Brictric filius Algar tempore Regis Eduardi. ibid. d. There were other lands held by Thanes under him, particularly Wenecote: of which it is ſaid, Regina dedit hanc terram Rainaldo Capellano. ibid.

In all the accounts of forfeited eſtates, it will be found, that the perſons are generally ſaid to have held them in the time of King Edward. The reaſon is, becauſe Harold was looked upon as an uſurper; and in Doomſday Book he is never ſtiled any thing but Earl: *Heraldus Comes.* Beſides, his reign amounted to little more than nine months: on which account the time of tenure is always referred to Edward.

ALRIC and ALGAR.

Concerning theſe perſons hiſtory ſeems to be quite ſilent. The name of the former occurs in the 253 page of the poem, and the 315 verſe.

As Alric hoiſtes his arme for dedlie blowe.

Though

Though he may not be mentioned by our hiſtorians, yet there is reaſon to think that he is the ſame perſon, whoſe name is to be repeatedly found in Doomſday; and which is expreſſed both Alric and Ailric. He held lands in Worceſterſhire. De ipſo manerio tenet Rogerus de Lacy II hidas ad Ulfrinton, &c. Tempore Regis Edwardi fuerunt in dominio, et *Alricus* eas tenuit. p. 172. d. Ad Speclea habent II Francigenæ IIII carucatas, et VI bordarii cum II carucatis, &c. Hanc terram tenuit Alricus. p. 173. d. He had lands in Somerſetſhire. Bretel tenet de Comite (Moriton) Grindeham. Alric tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 92. a. By the poet he is ſaid to have been the brother of Algar: who by the ſuperiority of his eſtates ſeems to have been the elder of the two: and he is ſtiled an Earl. Among other lands, which belonged to him, the following are ſpecified, which were ſeized upon by the king.

Rex tenet Clive (in Norhamptonſhire) ibi eſt I hida et duæ virgatæ, et dimidium. Algar Comes tenuit. p. 220. a.

Rex tenet Wiclei. Algarus Comes tenuit. ibid.

In Scadewelle tenet Abbatia I hadam, et dimid virgatæ terræ, &c. Algarus Comes tenuit. Rex dedit Sancto Edmundo pro animâ Reginæ Mathildis. p. 222. b.

He was poſſeſſed of lands in Sumerſetſhire, in the vicinity of Alric and Brictric: ſee page 88. a. b. alſo in Wiltſhire, p. 69. d. But his chief poſſeſſions were at Scandone, Certelie, Weſtantone, Pinchetel, and twelve other places in Staffordſhire: of all which he ſeems to have been Lord Paramount: till they were at the Conqueſt ſeized upon by the King. Rex tenet Rowceſter. Algarus Comes tenuit. p. 246. b. c. The like is mentioned of the whole ſixteen.

There was an Algar, the father of Brithric, concerning whom I have before made mention. But he muſt have been dead before the Battle of Haſtings; as his ſon had ſucceeded to his eſtate and honours. There was alſo a perſon of this name, the ſon of * Leofric, Earl of Mercia. His father was married to Godiva, that celebrated lady, to whom the city of Coventry was ſo much beholden: and they together founded there a noble monaſtery, in which they were afterwards † buried. Algar had a daughter Algitha, whom he gave in marriage to Griffin King of Wales. This led him on ſeveral occaſions to join the Welch King; and to be very diſaffected towards King Edward: on which account he

* Simeon Dunelmenſ. p. 187, 8, 9. Ingulphi Hiſt. p. 888.

† John Bromton, p. 945. 948. Knighton, p. 2334. 60.

was

was twice baniſhed. Harold however obtained his pardon: and at all times ſhewed him great generoſity and friendſhip: and upon the death of Griffin, he married the Lady * Algitha, Algar's daughter; the ſiſter of Edwin and Morcar. From this connection one might naturally ſuppoſe, that this was the Algar, who fought on his ſide in the battle, when the fate of his kingdom was decided. But I think it could not be ſo: for if we may truſt Ingulphus of Croyland, this perſon, the ſon of Leofric, † died anno 1059: ſeven years before that event.

If we may form any judgment from the ſituation of lands, I ſhould think, that the perſon in the poem was the ſon of Algar, Earl of Gloceſter: and conſequently the brother of Brithric, in the vicinity of whoſe eſtates his poſſeſſions for the moſt part lay. Of this we may be aſſured, that the name is not fictitious; nor the character formed by the poet's fancy. Such a perſon did at the time of the Conqueſt exiſt; as is plain both from the lands, which he forfeited, as well as from thoſe, which he retained. And he muſt have been a man of conſequence by his being ſtiled Algarus Comes. It is remarkable, that ſeveral of his eſtates, like thoſe of

* Holinſhed, vol. ii. p. 1. Speed, p. 411. † P. 888.

Brithric,

Brithric, were ſeized upon by the Queen. Mathildis Regina tenet Merlave (in Com. Bochinghamſcire) &c. Hoc manerium tenuit Algarus Comes. D. B. p. 152. c.

Ipſa Regina tenet Hanbledene, &c. Hoc manerium tenuit Algarus Comes. ibid.

From hence I am led to think, that he was a relation of Brithric, or Brictric: and probably his brother: and that he was denominated from his father; that Algar, who was Earl of Gloceſter.

EILWARDE.

Harold ſays to two of his principal friends, p. 238. v. 22.

Go, Gyrth, and *Eilwarde*, take bills half a ſcore.

Gyrth is well known, as being the king's brother; who together with Leofine was killed in the action. But Eilwarde, I believe, is a character not mentioned by any Engliſh writer. Yet ſuch a character did really exiſt; and may be authenticated in the ſame manner, as thoſe have been above. The name in Doomſday is expreſſed Elward, Ælward, Ailward, and Alward: and we may learn that the perſon ſo denominated was of eminence, and had large property. He had lands

lands in Devonſhire. Walter tenet de Goſcelmo Newentone: Eluuard tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 112. c. Alſo in Worceſterſhire. De hoc manerio tenet Ricardus 11 hidas, ad Dicford, &c. Ailwardus tenuit, et ſervitium reddidit, p. 173. b. He likewiſe had eſtates in Gloceſterſhire, as may be ſeen, p. 165. b. 167. b. 170. a. But he had ſtill larger poſſeſſions in Somerſetſhire: moſt of which he was obliged to give up upon the revolution, which happened in the kingdom. Epiſcopus Sariſberienſis tenet Seveberge. Aluuardus tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 87. d.

Idem Epiſc. tenet Contone.—Aluuard tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. ibid.

Epiſc. Conſtantien^{s}. tenet Doules. Aluuard tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. ibid.

Ipſe Willelmus tenet Stoche. Aluuard tenebat temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 96. b.

It is ſaid of the village of Avra in Devonſhire: Ailward tenebat temp. Reg. Eduuardi. p. 107. b.

Mention is alſo made of lands in Worceſterſhire. Urſo tenet terras, quas tenuerunt Æluuard, et Saulf, &c.—et ibi ſeptem hidæ. p. 174. d. Again, de hac terrâ tenet Urſo quatuor hidas:—Aluuard tenuit: ibid. One Elward held lands in Shropſhire after the conqueſt: Alward tenet de Comite Hundeſlit.

deſlit. p. 259. c. Elward tenet Muletione : Godric tenuit. ibid.

Elward tenet Riſtune. Seuuard tenuit. ibid.

Elward tenet Cireſtoc. Siuuard tenuit. ibid.

He ſeems to be the ſame, who is called Alvert and Ailvert in the account of Dorſetſhire. Ipſe (Rogerus Arundel) tenet Ceberge: Alvert tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 82. c.

Robertus tenet de Rogero Blendford : Aielvert tenuit temp. Reg. Eduardi. ibid.

We muſt not wonder, if we find the ſame name expreſſed differently : for Saxon names are ſeldom uniformly repreſented. Beſides, Doomſday Book was compiled by more than one perſon : and the ſame name, in conſequence of it, is often variouſly rendered.

A L F I E.

Concerning this perſon, who is mentioned in the poem, p. 220. we have no account in hiſtory. His name I believe does not any where occur. Yet he is certainly the ſame, who in the book of Doomſday is called Aluui and Alwy : and had many eſtates in the time of King Edward. He is repreſented as a viſcount, and held part of a large manour in Gloceſterſhire, of which Ældred archbiſhop of York had alſo a ſhare.

In

In Bertune habuit rex Eduardus novem hidas, &c. De hoc manerio preſtitit Ældred Archiepiſcopus unam hidam, Brewere. Alterum membrum, nomine Optune, preſtitit Aluui vicecomes. p. 162. d.

He had large poſſeſſions in other counties, eſpecially in Summerſetſhire.

Ipſe Aluredus tenet Bur. Aluui tenebat tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 97. a.

Ricardus tenet de Aluredo Hunteworde: Aluui tenebat tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 97. b.

Rannulfus tenet de Aluredo Strenegeſtone: Aluui tenebat T R E. ibid.

Rannulfus tenet de Aluredo Alfageſtone, et Leding. Aluui tenebat T R E. ibid. There are in the ſame place inſtances of more eſtates, which once belonged to him in this county. Concerning lands belonging to a perſon of this name in Gloceſterſhire, ſee p. 165. a. and 170. a. in Devonſhire, p. 112. c. 115. d.

He ſeems to have ſurvived the battle; for it is ſaid in the account for Oxfordſhire, Alwi Vicecomes tenet de Rege duas hidas et dimidium in Bliceſtone. p. 160. d.

Many of his lands lay near to thoſe of Brictric: and there is reaſon to think that they were brothers. Hence in the deſcription of Wiltſhire it is ſaid, Brictric, et Aluui, frater

frater ejus, tenuerunt Colesfeld tempore Regis Eduardi. valet decem libras. p. 73. c. He held other eſtates in this county: but Brictric many more, to a vaſt amount. See p. 73. c.

ALURED.

This perſon is mentioned in the poem, p. 213. v. 85. but we have no where elſe any hiſtory of him recorded. There are ſeveral of this name to be found in Doomſday Book. One is ſtiled Aluredus Brito, p. 115. d.: who held lands in Devonſhire; and undoubtedly came over from Bretagne with the Conqueror. Another is ſtiled Aluredus, Nepos Wigot, p. 160. a. and held lands in Oxfordſhire: but there is not the leaſt reaſon to think, that he was an inhabitant before the Conqueſt: as he particularly held of the king. The perſon alluded to by the poet, appears to have been of conſequence: and I imagine, that it was the ſame, who in Doomſday is ſtiled Alured of Marlborough: and who held large eſtates in Wiltſhire, both before and after the Conqueſt. See Terra Aluredi de Merleberg. p. 70. b. That he was prior to the coming of the Normans, may be ſhewn from ſome lands, which he held in Worceſterſhire,

Worceſterſhire, p. 175. b. Aluredus de Merleberg tenet Stoche: ibi 15 hidæ. Iſd. ipſe tenuit 12 hidas, et unam virgatam, temp. Regis Eduardi. —— modo totum habebat Aluredus.

It was probably the ſame perſon, who had a fine manour at Weybridge in Surry: which was taken from him. In Wedbrige hactenus tenuit ipſa Abbatia (de Certeſyg, or Chertſey) 11 hidas. Aluredus tenuit tempore Reg. Eduardi. p. 32. c. Alſo in Devonſhire. Huic Monaſterio (de Bolenec) addita eſt Baldrintone. Alured tenebat — temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 102. b.

It muſt not be thought extraordinary, that perſons, who had oppoſed the Conquerour, ſhould after his eſtabliſhment in the kingdom ſtill hold part of their eſtates. His ſituation was precarious, and he was at times obliged to court the Saxon nobility, and afford them ſome indulgences. No one had oppoſed him more determinately than Edwin Earl of Cheſter, brother of Morcar Earl of Northumberland. This perſon brought off the remains of the Engliſh army at Haſtings: and afterwards at London ſhut the gates againſt the Conquerour, and ſupported the cauſe of Edgar Atheling, the redoubted heir to the kingdom. He likewiſe levied armies in the north: yet William thought proper to win him

him over: and not only permitted him, as we may infer, to hold many of his former eſtates; but went ſo far as to promiſe him his daughter in marriage. But this never took place: for Edwin revolted; and in the year 1071 was killed, as it is * ſaid, by his own people. I imagine, that he is the ſame, who by the poet is ſtiled Egwin. How great his poſſeſſions were may be known from Doomſday Book: where they are mentioned as lying in many different counties; but particularly in † Cheſhire.

That many, who had eſtates before the Conqueſt, held them afterwards, is plain from the terms tenet, and tenuit; which are often applied to the ſame perſon at the ſame time. Thus p. 93. c. Aluuard tenet de Rogero Holecumbe. Ipſe tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. Alric tenet de Rogero Halſuuei. Ipſe tenuit temp. Reg. Eduardi. ibid. d.

ALFWOLDE.

Concerning this perſon hiſtory is quite ſilent: yet he is mentioned by the poet as a

* Chron. Sax. p. 181. Simeon Dunelm. p. 203. l. 22.

† See Doomſday Book, p. 263. d. 264. a. b. Edwin was dead, when this book was compiled.

leader of great conſequence; and one who with Bythric headed the people from Briſtol. He celebrates his valour in more places than one: particularly p. 253. v. 321.

O Alfwolde, ſaie, how ſhalle I ſynge of thee,
Or telle how manie dyd benethe thee falle?

But though hiſtory may have overlooked the merit of this perſon; yet that ſuch a one exiſted, may be known from the book of Doomſday: and that he was of the eminence ſuppoſed, may in ſome degree be ſhewn from his eſtates. Many of them lay, as might be expected, in Somerſetſhire and Gloceſterſhire: but he had likewiſe other lands in different counties. In Worceſterſhire he is ſaid to have held Nordfeild. Idem Willelmus tenet Nordfeld: Aluuoldus tenuit: ibi ſex hidæ. p. 177. b. Hugo aſinus tenet Tichen apletrev, et Willelmus de eo. Aluuoldus tenuit. p. 177. d. Urſo tenet Hortune et Robertus de eo. Aluuoldus tenuit. p. 177. d. Tortworth in Gloceſterchire belonged to him. Iſd. Turſtinus tenet Tortworth in Bacheſtanes hundred: ibi una hida. Aluuoldus tenuit. p. 169. c. His chief lands ſeem to have lain in Somerſetſhire, as one would naturally expect. Epiſcopus tenet Wenfre—Aluuold tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 88. c. Idem Willelmus tenet de Epiſcopo Stratone: Aluuold tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi.

p. 88. c. Idem Dudeman tenet de Willelmo Wacet. Aluuold tenebat. p. 96. a.

Goisfrid tenet de Turſtino Malpertone: Aluuold, valebat olim ſex libras, tenebat tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 97. d.

Norman tenet de Turſtino Wandeſtrev: Aluuold tenuit temp. Reg. Eduardi. p. 97. d. He alſo held Duretone, and Ciretune in the ſame county: and other eſtates to the number of fourteen. The poet ſpeaks of him, as if he were ſlain at Haſtings: but from the record, which I here quote, one would be led to think that he ſurvived the battle. For a perſon of this name is ſpoken of as ſtill holding one eſtate, in the Conqueror's time: of which he was poſſeſſed before. Aluuold tenet de Rege Pignocſire (in Gloweceſtreſcire) ipſe tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 170. c.

This difference between Alfwold and Alwold is of little conſideration: for Saxon names are ſeldom expreſſed uniformly the ſame, as I have ſhewn before. Alfwold was the name of an ancient King of Northumberland: and we find him called both Alfwold, and Alwold, by the ſame writer. See Chron. Sax. p. 62, 63. It was alſo the name of an Abbot of Eveſham, who was afterwards Biſhop of London. He is by * Simeon Dunelmenſis called Alwold: by

* P. 182. l. 12.

Radulf

* Radulf de Diceto Ailward: by † John Bromton Elword: by ‡ Henry Knyghton Elfwold. His name is mentioned by Le Neve with ſtill greater variations, who ſpeaks of his being made Biſhop of London about the year 1035. Faſti, p. 176. We muſt not therefore think it any objection to the evidence afforded, if Alfwold be ſtiled Alwold: Alfie Aluui: and Brithric be found expreſſed Bithric and Briƈtric. The perſon who is called Algar by Simeon, Bromton, and Knyghton, is ſtiled Alfgar, and Ælfgar by others. See Chron. Sax. p. 165. 169. 171.

GODRICK.

The hiſtory of this perſon is obſcure: but he is repreſented by the poet, p. 220. v. 213. as one of the principal leaders under Harold, and conſequently he muſt have been of eminence in his time. He appears to have held lands in Kent, Suſſex, and other counties. Godefridus tenet de Willelmo Childetune (in Sudſexe:) Godricus tenuit de Rege Eduardo.

* P. 475. l. 9.

† P. 938. l. 63.

‡ P. 2329. l. 67. Robert is expreſſed Rodbert, Rotberd, Rotbeard, Rodbriht, and Rodbyrd, in the ſame volume. See Chron. Sax.

p. 27. b. Idem (Hugo) Comes tenet Fiſcartone (in Wilteſcire) &c. Godricus tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. p. 69. a.

Iſd. Rainbaldus tenet (in Gloweceſterſcire) in Nortcote 1 hidam. Godricus ten: temp. Regis Eduardi. p. 166. d.

Malgerus tenet de Comite (Moritone) Contune (in Sumerſete.) Godric tenuit temp. Reg. Euuardi. p. 91. d. It is unneceſſary to ſpecify all his poſſeſſions, for they were very large; and very widely diſperſed.

TOSSELYN.

The poet makes mention of the Duke of Normandy drawing his bow, and adds,

> The arrowe dauncynge in the ayre dyd ſynge,
> And hytt the horſe (of) *Toſſelyn* on the knee.
>
> p. 215. v. 104.

I ſcarcely know a name more uncommon than this: which I believe is no where recorded in any regular hiſtory. The only place, where it can be authenticated, is that repoſitory to which I have been ſo often obliged. In ſhort, I think, we may be pretty certain, that the perſon mentioned is the ſame, who in Doomſday is called Tezelin: and who in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, among other eſtates held one under the Biſhop of Saliſbury

at

at Niderbury in Dorſetſhire. De eadem terrâ tenuit de Epiſcopo Tezelinus v hid. et tres virgatas terræ, &c. p. 77. b. A perſon of this name held likewiſe lands in Hampſhire under Hugo de Port, both in Borehunte and Apleſtede. p. 45. c. Alſo under Roger de Lacy in Herefordſhire. Idem Rogerus tenet Letune; et Tezelinus de eo.—ibi III hidæ geld: &c. p. 184. d. Again, Rogerus tenet Hide, & Tezelin'. de eo. ibid. c.

MERWYN.

The poet takes notice of Merwyn, the ſon of Tudor, who fought for Harold at the Battle of Haſtings. p. 232. v. 471. He was, I imagine, the perſon, who held part of thoſe lands in Herefordſhire, which were afterwards by the Conqueror given to one of his followers. Willelmus Filius Normanni tenet Baiſan, &c. Merwin tenuit tempore Regis Eduardi. D. B. p. 181. a. They lay in that part of the county, which the writer tells us, Rex Griffin et Blein vaſtaverunt. ibid. Hereabouts was a place called Matma; of which the ſame writer ſays, Merewin tenuit Teinus Odonis. p. 184. c. He likewiſe had an eſtate at Borehunte in Hampſhire, to which he had been appointed by King Edward. It

was probably given to him for his ſkill in hunting. Ipſe Hugo (de Porth) tenet unam hidam in Borehunte: et Tezelinus de eo: &c. Leffi et Merwen tenuerunt de Rege. p. 55. c. We may perceive from hence, and from what has preceded, that Tezelin, of whom mention was made above, ſucceeded Merwyn in one eſtate: and held others very near to him in Herefordſhire. From theſe circumſtances I am induced to think, that they were both of the ſame country, Wales. The lands in Herefordſhire were probably given to theſe perſons, on account of their attachment to the Saxon Monarchs; and their uniform oppoſition to the Princes of their own country. They were placed upon the borders, as being ſure to withſtand any incurſion; and to maintain the eſtates, which had been given to them.

HEREWARDE.

The poet ſpeaking of Old Sarum, mentions a perſon of conſequence, who was a native of that place.

Herewarde, born of parents brave and wiſe,
Within this ville firſt adrew the ayre:
A bleſſyng to the erthe ſente from the ſkies.
p. 265. v. 555.

He

He was one of the Earls, who attended upon Harold at Haſtings: and has had the good fortune to be taken notice of by ſome of our writers. Though his hiſtory be ſhort, and not very obvious; yet an hiſtory of him there is: and the perſons, who have tranſmitted it, mention his * loyalty and proweſs: and juſtify the great encomiums beſtowed upon him by the poet. There ſeems to be other evidence, that there was ſuch a perſon, and of the times, concerning which we are treating: and this evidence is from the ſame records, to which I have ſo often applied. Herewardus tenuit v hidas ad Eunilade (in Wireceſtreſcire,) ibi ſunt duæ carucatæ, et ix villani, &c. p. 173. b.

He ſurvived the battle; and in the year 1071 joined Morcar, and Egelwine Biſhop of Durham, together with Seward Bearn at Ely: which place he † maintained for a long time againſt the Conqueror. At laſt, Seward, Morcar, and the Biſhop, were obliged to ſurrender. Hereward however would not ſubmit: but with his followers, boldly made his way through the ‡ fens, and got off.

* Herewardus, vir ſtrenuiſſimus. Simeon Dunelmenſ. 203. See alſo John Bromton, p. 969.

† Duce Herewardo, de gente Anglorum, viro nobiliſſimo, ac ſtrenuo, &c. Matt. Paris, p. 7. l. 28. Dux belli et magiſter militum. Ingulphi Hiſt. p. 901. l. 56.

‡ See the writers above: and Chron. Sax. p. 181. Radulphus de Diceto. p. 184.

Upon this he forfeited ſeveral of his eſtates, which till this time he had been permitted to hold. One of theſe is mentioned in Doomſday. It is there ſaid—Terram Asford in Bercham Hund. (in Lincolnſhire) dictæ Wapentakæ ñ habuiſſe Herewardum die, quâ aufugit. p. 376. d. However he ſeems to have ſurvived this flight, though hiſtory be ſilent about it: for he is mentioned as ſtill holding lands to a conſiderable amount in different places: at leaſt there is a perſon of this name. Ipſe Comes (de Mellent) tenet in Wapentune (Warwickſhire) III hidas: et Hereward de eo. Idem ten. tempore Regis Edwardi. p. 240. a.

Ipſe Comes tenet in Merſtone I hidam: et Hereward de eo. Idem Herewardus lib. tenuit temp. R. Edw. p. 240. c.

Ipſe Comes tenet in Bernhangre, &c.—et Hereward de eo. Idem Hereward libere tenuit temp. Regs. Eduardi. ibid. This noble perſon was greatly celebrated after his death, and many ſongs were compoſed to his memory, which in the time of * Ingulphus of Croyland were in high repute; but have been long ſince loſt. This writer gives a more ample account of Hereward and his atchievements, than any other hiſtorian.

* P. 829. Ingulphus lived in the reign of Henry the Firſt.

BERTRAM.

BERTRAM.

The poet mentions the ſon of this perſon, and ſtiles him, *the man of glorious wound*, p. 243. v. 117. Our hiſtorians are quite ſilent about Bertram; nor are there any means, by which we can arrive at the name of the ſon. We have however fortunately ſufficient evidence to certify, that ſuch a perſon as Bertram exiſted; and that he was a friend of Harold's, and Warden of the Cinque Ports in his reign. This may be known from the liſt of thoſe Wardens or Barons, preſerved by Lambarde and Philpot: and which is likewiſe to be found in Somner's treatiſe upon the Roman Ports in Kent, p. 118. He is there ſtiled Bertram Aſhburnham; i. e. Bertram of Aſhburnham, and ſtands third in the liſt, being the immediate ſucceſſor to Harold, by whom he was appointed. Why his ſon is ſtiled *the man of glorious wound*, I cannot preſume to ſay. It may poſſibly be, becauſe he was by nation a Norman, one of thoſe, who had been favoured by Edward, and who adhered to Harold; and conſequently was a friend to the Saxon cauſe. It was certainly not a Saxon name: and there was a perſon of the contrary party ſo called, who came

came over with the * Conqueror. He is mentioned D. B. p. 37. c. among the principal perſons, who had lands given to them in Hampſhire: where he ſucceeded to Toſti, the brother of Harold. Willelmus Bertram tenet de Rege Polemetune. Toſti tenuit temp. R. Eduardi. p. 47. b. Bertram of Aſhburnham may have been of the ſame family, though engaged on the contrary ſide. Be this as it may; that ſuch a perſon exiſted, and was a friend of Harold's, is plain paſt all controverſy. And he undoubtedly was a perſon of great conſequence, and of approved fidelity. For the King muſt have had the higheſt opinion of that man; to whom he entruſted Dover and the Cinque Ports.

NORMANNE.

This perſon was not a Saxon, but of the oppoſite party at the Battle of Haſtings. I have however the ſame reaſons for introducing his name, as I had for thoſe above. The poet ſpeaking of Leofwyne, mentions his hurling a javelin with great force, and adds,

Itte whyzz'd a gaſtlie dynne in Normanne's ear,
Then thundryng dyd upon hys greave alyghte.
p. 251. v. 285.

* See Battle Roll. Stow. p. 105.

The

The name may create ſuſpicion; as it does not occur in any one of the liſts. And it may beſides ſeem ſtrange, when the army conſiſted in general of Normans, that a perſon ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by ſuch an indeterminate appellation. Yet there is authority for this circumſtance: and we accordingly find in the Ely tablet (a ſpecimen of which we have in Mr. Bentham's very curious account of that * Cathedral) a perſon ſo denominated. It appears, that William the Conqueror being irritated at the behaviour of the Monks of Ely, had upon their ſurrender appointed forty of his officers to be quartered upon them. Theſe were received in a moſt hoſpitable manner: and they made on their ſide ſuitable returns: ſo that when they left the monaſtery, there was a picture deſigned, in order to commemorate the harmony and friendſhip, which had ſubſiſted between the two parties. A very ancient copy of this picture ſtill remains: and every officer is painted with the Monk, who particularly entertained him: and under each copartment their names are ſpecified. One of theſe perſons is called Robertus Normannus. He was probably ſo named from the place of his reſidence, Normanville. There is in the ſame

* Hiſt. and Antiq. of the church of Ely, p. 106.

tablet

tablet another perſon, ſtiled Lucey Normannus; and poſſibly a relation of the former. They were both of great rank; the one a Mareſchal, and the other an Admiral.

In Doomſday Book mention is made of ſome eſtates belonging to Robert, which lay in Wiltſhire. Terra Roberti Mareſcal; part of which Eddid, King Edward's Queen, the daughter of Earl Goodwin, poſſeſſed before, p. 73. b. Alſo among the great perſonages, who held lands in Gloceſterſhire, we find a Fitznorman. He was undoubtedly a ſon of one of thoſe before mentioned. See p. 162 and 167. c. But there was a perſon of the very name of Norman, who held lands in Somerſetſhire. Norman tenet de Turſtino Wandeſtrev. p. 97. d. Norman tenet de Chaivert. ibid. Norman tenet de Roberto Liteltone. Norman tenet de R. Bertone. p. 94. b. The name occurs in the accounts of other counties, particularly of Lincolnſhire; where a perſon ſtiled Normannus Craſſus held Carletune and Canvic. See Terra Normanni Craſſi, p. 362. a. Alſo another ſtiled Normannus de Adreci, who had in the ſame county far larger poſſeſſions. p. 361. c. d. He is mentioned among the chief of the nobility, who held lands in that county, p. 337. a.

The name of King Edward's Queen above mentioned

mentioned is variouſly repreſented. By ſome it is rendered Edith and Editha: by Ingulph of Croyland, Egith: by William of Malmſbury, Edgith: by the compiler of Doomſday Book, Eddid: which is properly Eddiƀ. She ſurvived her huſband, and dying in 1074, was buried at Weſtminſter. Writers deſcribe her as a woman of a great character, though of a bad father: hence it is ſaid by Ingulphus, p. 905,

Sicut Spina Roſam, genuit Godwinus Egitham.

From what has been mentioned above, we have a farther proof of the great latitude taken in the expreſſing of Saxon names.

M A N N.

A perſon of this name is mentioned by the poet, p. 218. v. 172: which name for a Norman may ſeem extraordinary: and the more ſo, as it does not occur either in the Battle, or Norman * liſts. Yet that ſuch a perſon exiſted at the time ſpecified, may be proved from a ſon, ſtiled Fitz Manne, who had eſtates conferred upon him by the Conqueror. One of theſe lay in Suſſex. Willelmus Filius

* It is only to be ſeen in the liſt of Thomas Scriven, preſerved by Stow.

Manne tenet de Willelmo Wapingetorne. Carle tenuit de Rege Edwardo. D. B. p. 28. b. Alſo p. 48. c. Terra Willelmi Filij Manne. Willelmus Filius Manne tenet in Niwetone (Hanteſcire) unam hidam. Aluric tenuit de Rege, &c. He is alſo mentioned, p. 154. among the chief barons, who had eſtates in Oxfordſhire: alſo p. 160. b. ſo that from the ſon we may aſcertain the father; and ſhew, that he was a perſon of conſequence.

TATWINE.

It is not only difficult to obtain any knowledge of the perſons, introduced by the poet; but even to get authorities for their names: many of them are ſo very uncommon. Such is that above, which occurs in the poem, p. 273. v. 719. We find in the Saxon Chronicle one perſon named Tatwine: and I believe, we may ſearch a long time, before we find an inſtance in any other writer. This was an ancient archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the year 731.

I have received great advantages from the Doomſday Book, which is a moſt curious, and invaluable record. The preciſe time when the compilation was made, may not be eaſy to aſcertain. Indeed it muſt have taken up

up ſome years in compleating. Thus much we know, that it was not finiſhed till after the death of Queen Mathildis, the Conqueror's wife. This is plain from ſeveral paſſages, where it is ſaid, Mathildis Regina tenuit. But more particularly from p. 222. b. where mention is made of the manour of Scadewelle; concerning which it is ſaid, Rex dedit Sancto Edmundo pro animâ Mathildis Reginæ. The Queen died anno 1083.

CONTINUATION.

As the perſons of whom I have been treating are ſo little known; and the very names have been long buried in obſcurity; by what means could a youth of ſixteen have been in the leaſt acquainted with them? Surely not from hiſtory. We cannot ſuppoſe, that any body ſo young, and ſo ſituated, could have acceſs to the authors neceſſary for this purpoſe. Beſides, we have ſeen, that even hiſtory will not afford the intelligence required. In reſpect to the Norman names, it is ſaid, that he might have got them from Battle roll. But I have ſhewn, that this roll does not ſuffice for one half of them. And if it did; yet from what quarter did he obtain thoſe of the Saxons: many of which, as I have

have before ſaid, are not to be found in any Engliſh hiſtorian? As to the reſource, to which I have applied, it could not have been obvious, or even known, to him. The names then have been invented, and introduced by him at hazard. If this were the caſe, he muſt have been particularly fortunate in having ſo many latent evidences for that which was mere whim and fancy.

But it is not only upon theſe names and their evidences, that I found my opinion; but upon the many curious and remote alluſions, which continually occur. Some of theſe after very deep inquiry may be traced out: others are too obſcure, and too far removed from us to be at all explained. Now theſe dark hints, and oblique references are to me another proof of the antiquity of theſe poems. They muſt have been introduced by a perſon, who was well acquainted with the facts referred to; and who addreſſed himſelf to people equally intelligent: even by him, who declares himſelf to have been the author, by ſaying with great impartiality

* I, thô a Saxon, yet the truthe will telle.

For let a writer be ever ſo artfully diſpoſed, and ſo diligent in counterfeiting; yet you will rarely ſee him point to a non-entity;

* Battle of Haſtings, p. 224. v. 312.

and

and make allusions, where there is no object of reference. An author is never voluntarily deficient. It is not his business to darken, but elucidate:

Non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem.

I have mentioned several little histories, to which there is a retrospect in these poems; particularly those of Matraval, and Powisland; of Bithric and Howel ap Jevah. Concerning these and many others we have been so fortunate, as to obtain some intelligence. But there are other obscure references, that are incidentally brought before us, concerning which no account can be given. Instances to this purpose we have in the *overthrow of Standrip Tower*, *Tinyans necromancy*: the *goats of Conyan*; and the *Souls* of the *fairy-stricken* people, which are said to wander to the *dike of Offa*. Many more of the same nature may be found in these poems. These allusions were not originally dark: the circumstances were no secret at the time of writing. But things recent necessarily grow obsolete by time: and facts well known will become obscure.

These indirect and imperfect notices are therefore very frequent in ancient writings. They break in upon us continually; and are partial lights, that direct to unknown objects:

to objects far removed, which we cannot at present distinguish. But in recent compositions they occur very rarely: for, as I before said, it is the business of an author, not to darken, but illuminate: and no body is designedly unintelligible. Whoever takes an ancient piece of history for his subject, will dwell upon the well-known facts; and expend his labour upon the leading circumstances of that history. He will never amuse his reader with dark, and unsatisfactory allusions: nor raise his curiosity merely to disappoint it. As I have some verses by me, upon the very same subject as the poem, concerning which we have been treating; I will lay them before the reader: and from thence he may see, that let a person be ever so assiduous, yet he will never attain to that mass of occult intelligence, which is to be observed in a writing of the times: nor abound with those incidental references, which distinguish a primitive work. As it may too much interrupt the present course of inquiry to present them immediately, I will not introduce them in this place; but consign them to the rear, that they may be considered, or passed by, as may seem best to the reader.

I cannot quit this subject without mentioning a passage in the poet, which may perhaps

further illuſtrate, what I have been ſaying. In the beginning of the Battle of Haſtings, there is a noble apoſtrophe made to the ſea: concerning whoſe influence the poet ſpeaks with regret: as it was not exerted to the deſtruction of the Normans.

O ſea, our teeming donore, han thy floud
Han anie fructuous entendement,
Thou wouldſt have roſe and ſank wyth tydes of bloude,
Before Duke William's Knyghts han hither went:
Whoſe cowart arrows menie erles (have) ſteyne,
And brued the feeld wyth bloude as ſeaſon rayne.'
p. 210.

I mention this, becauſe I think, that we may perceive here a tacit reference to an event; which at firſt ſight is not obvious. The author in his addreſs to the ſea ſeems to ſay, had thy flood been calculated for any good, it would have ariſen, before the Norman navy had reached our ſhores: and preſerved us from that fatal invaſion. When therefore he ſays, had thy flood had any good intention, it is natural to aſk, *when:* and *upon what occaſion.* For by the tenour of the words he ſeems to refer to a time; and allude to ſome particular criſis. And when he adds, after this intimation, that it would then have riſen before the landing of the Normans; he ſeems to indicate, that it had riſen, but at a leſs favourable ſeaſon. It appears, therefore, to me, that there is in this paſſage to be obſerved one of thoſe

occult alluſions, of which I made mention before. There is certainly a retroſpect to an event, well known in the age of the writer: and that event was an overflowing of the ſea. Now it is remarkable, that at the time, when I ſuppoſe the firſt ſketch of this poem to have been produced, there were great inundations upon the ſouthern coaſts of England, which are taken notice of by ſeveral of our hiſtorians. They happened in the latter part of the reign of William Rufus, and in the early part of that of his ſucceſſor. That in the time of Rufus is mentioned, as very extraordinary in its effects; and conſequently very alarming. The author of the Saxon * Chronicle ſpeaks of its being attended with the greateſt damages ever known. The like is recorded by Simeon of Durham. † Mare littus egreditur; et villas et homines quam plures, &c. demerſit. Florence of ‡ Worceſter writes to the ſame purpoſe. Great part of Zealand is ſaid at this time to have ſuffered: and the § Goodwin ſands are ſuppoſed to have been formed by this inundation, which before did not appear.

Mr. Tyrwhitt thinks, that, inſtead of *O Sea, our teeming Donore*, the true reading

* Anno 1099. p. 207.

† P. 224. l. 58.

‡ Ad annum 1099. p. 649. Fabian, v. i. p. 316.

§ Camden, p. 755. Rapin, p. 189.

was,

was, *O, ſea-o'er-teeming Dover.* This is a very ingenious alteration, and I think highly probable. But inſtead of forming a decompound, I ſhould rather ſeparate the ſecond term, and read, *O Sea, o'er-teeming Dover:* for the addreſs muſt be to the *ſea*, and not to the *place:* as the poet in the third verſe ſpeaks of its *riſing*. Now to *teem* ſignifies to *abound* and to be *prolifick:* alſo to *pour* and *fill*. Hence we find in Ainſworth, teemful, *brimful*. The ſame alſo occurs in Ray's North-Country words: To teem, to *pour out*, or *lade*. Alſo teemful, *brimful:* having as much as can be *teemed in*; i. e. poured in. p. 60, 61. Accordingly, *o'er-teeming* muſt ſignify *overflowing, pouring over*. When therefore the poet addreſſes himſelf to this *o'er-teeming ſea*, he ſeems to allude to that general * inundation, by which Dover, and many other places upon the ſouthern coaſt of this iſland, were overwhelmed. Stow mentions that this flood did great miſchief to many towns and villages upon the ſides of the Thames: and it is ſaid to have prevailed in the North, as high up as Scotland. But its chief fury ſeems to have been in the narrow ſeas of the channel: and upon thoſe very coaſts upon

* See John Bromton, p. 1003. l. 21. alſo Knyghton, Higden and Polydore Vergil. Camden, p. 1505. See particularly Somner's Roman Ports, p. 26, 27.

which a few years before the Normans had landed. It was natural for a writer of the times to allude to an event ſo recent; and to make a reference ſo obvious. And I do not know any perſon, to whom this addreſs can with propriety be aſcribed, but to Turgot. He was probably writing at the very time of this calamity: and nothing could be more natural than for him at ſuch a ſeaſon to make this apoſtrophe: which is very much illuſtrated by the hiſtory of thoſe times.

O Sea, o'er-teeming Dover, had thy flood had any good purpoſe to our country, it would have riſen before Duke William with his nobles had arrived upon our coaſts: and have overwhelmed his army. This in great meaſure authenticates, what is ſaid by * Rowley, that this poem was a verſion from a Saxon manuſcript: and it juſtifies his invocation of Turgot, to whom he was beholden for it. See backward p. 227.

CONSIDERATIONS

upon ſome words and expreſſions.

I ſhall now mention ſome particular terms, concerning which I have entertained ſuſpi-

* Memoires of Sir William Canynge, p. 127. in the Miſcell. by T. Chatterton.

cions:

cions: and there are perſons of ſuperior knowledge in antiquity, who have had the like ſcruples. It has been ſaid, and with great appearance of truth, that there are words introduced contrary to analogy; and in oppoſition to the idiom of the language, which is thought then to have prevailed. Theſe exceptions appeared of weight; and I could not help being affected by them; till I found upon a cloſer inquiry, that theſe ſeeming anomalies might be fairly accounted for; and that there were authorities to this purpoſe. It is obſerved, among other words objected to, that the plural *eyne* is often put for the ſingular *eye*.

In everych *eyne* aredynge nete of wyere. p. 11. v. 79.
In everie *eyne* I kenne the lowe of myghte.
p. 123. v. 681.

In the firſt place theſe may have been the miſtakes of the tranſcriber, who was certainly not ſufficiently converſant in ancient language. The genuineneſs of the poems cannot on this account be juſtly impeached. How many errors are to be found in firſt printed editions of the beſt Latin authors? Theſe have been ſince corrected; and nobody ever thought from hence of calling in queſtion the originality of thoſe writings. If the plural *eyne* be wrong, let it be at once altered to *eye*: but do not ſuffer it to affect either the author, or the poems.

In everych eye aredynge nete of wyere,
In everie eye I kenne, &c.

After all, ſome allowance ſhould be made for poetical liberties: for we muſt not eſteem every thing a fault againſt ſyntax, which does not preciſely accord now with the general mode either of ſpeaking or writing. The author of the Gloſſary to Gawin Douglas tells us, that liberties of this ſort were not uncommon in the verſion, of which he was treating: and we may reaſonably infer, that the ſame was uſual in other writings. * *The plural of nouns is frequently uſed for the ſingular, as in the Latin and Greek: and ſometimes, though very rarely, vice versâ.* We muſt not therefore think it very ſtrange, if the like ſhould be found in a writer not many years antecedent. In conformity to this, I think, that we may perceive an inſtance of eyen (expreſſed ene) being uſed as a ſingular in the author above mentioned. It is in a paſſage, where mention is made of the morning ſtar.

Qualis ubi oceani perfuſus Lucifer undâ.
* * * * * * *
Extulit os ſacrum cœlo.
Æneid. l. viii. v. 589.

— hye in the hevyn lifting his vyſage ſchene,
To chaſe away the merkneſs with his *ene*. p. 264.
i. e. with his *look*, or *eye*.

* Under General Rules, oppoſite p. 486.

There

There is another paſſage, where it is uſed as a ſingular paſt all diſpute. The poet is ſpeaking of Auguſtus Cæſar ſtanding up in his ſhip at the battle of Actium.

—— geminas cui tempora flammas
Læta vomunt. L. viii. v. 680.

Heich in the fore ſtam ſtand he micht be ſene,
For his blyith browis brent; and athir *ene*
The fire twinkling, and his faderis ſtar
Shew from his helmes top, ſchynand on fer.
G. D. p. 268. l. 11.

By *athir ene* is meant either, or each, eye. The following line occurs in a very ancient poem.

Nis no ȝonge an erþe, ne no eyen—

i. e. no tongue, nor no eye. Vita Sanctæ Margaretæ. Hickes Theſaurus. vol. i. p. 228.

By ſome writers eye and eyn ſeem to be uſed indifferently either in the ſingular or plural. Of this we may in ſome degree be aſſured from Rob. of Glouceſter.

Alfred hii ladde to Ely and pulte out bothe hys eye:
And hulde hym there in priſon vorte ſely mon gan deye.
p. 328. l. 1.

The ſame allowance ſhould be made in reſpect to the word *han* or *hane*, which occurs ſometimes in the ſingular, contrary to the common uſage of the times.

Hanne

Hanne alle the fuirie of mysfortunes wille
Fallen on mie benned heade. p. 166. v. 1184.
O Hengiſt, han thy cauſe bin good and true!
p. 225. v. 319.
But better han it bin to lette alone. p. 226. v. 337.

This may ſometimes have been the fault of the tranſcriber, who has ſubſtituted a plural for a ſingular. Or it may have taken its riſe from a provincial way of ſpeaking, which the author, like other writers in their ſeveral departments, followed. We muſt not uniformly judge from the language of the capital concerning the mode of ſpeaking in provinces: for there were certainly different dialects. In many of the inſtances, where *hane* and *han* occur, the terms may be altered to *hath* or *had*, without any impeachment of the ſenſe, or detriment to the verſe. And after all, there is authority for the uſage of this word in the ſingular, by which the reading in Rowley may be countenanced. In an ancient book, called the Pylgrimage of the Soul, which I have before mentioned; there occurs an example to this purpoſe.

He, that *hane* ſuffered hard and grevous peyne.
Fol. 13. Stanza 4.
I hane ben with the, whan thou knewe it nought.
Fol. 18.
I hane the ſayd, how deth the hath aſſet. p. 21. l. 5.

The like may be found in the viſion of Pierce Plowman.

—— *Hane*

—— *Hane* this in hert,
That though he ſuffered all this, God ſuffered for us more. p. 81. l. 24.
i. e. obſerve and take notice.

We meet with the term introduced after the ſame manner in Occleve. It is in his prologue, where he is ſpeaking of Chaucer.

—— * the honour of Engliſh tongue is dede,
Of which I wont was *han* counſel and rede.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that the inſtances here produced, are miſtakes, which have ariſen either from the imperfections of the manuſcripts, or the ignorance of the perſon who copied them, I will not diſpute the point; though I think, that it could not always have been the caſe. However, let us make the ſame allowance for the poems in queſtion, which have certainly in ſome degree ſuffered both from the manuſcripts being defective, and from the incapacity of the perſon, who copied them. But as I ſaid before, there is certainly authority for the uſage of theſe terms, as we find them introduced in Rowley. In Robert of Glouceſter, as well as in Robert Brunne, the terms han and hane occur for had and have: and Hearne in his Gloſſary to the latter, mentions their being elſewhere to be found. He adds that *hane* and *have* are uſed *promiſcuouſly*.

* See Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, by the Rev. Mr. Wharton, vol. ii. p. 43.

I muſt

I muſt confeſs, that I had ſome doubts about the propriety of another word—*thiſſen:* and a perſon of uncommon learning and experience has entertained the ſame.

Lette thyſſen menne—— Eclog. 2d. p. 11.

But I found it to be the ſame as the word *theſne*, which occurs in Robert of Glouceſter: the ſame alſo as the term þyſſne, þyſſum, and þyſſon of the Saxons. Æfteꝛ þyſſum, poſt hæc. Æfteꝛ þyſſon, after theſe things. Bede, p. 504. and Gen. ch. xlv. 15. See Lye and Manning. þyſne laꝛꝛ—this bread. þyſne ſtan, this ſtone. Of þyſſon hlafe. of this bread. Saxon verſion of the Goſpels.

Without doubt all ſtrange terms, and uncouth expreſſions muſt neceſſarily create ſcruples and ſuſpicions, however we may be prejudiced in favour of the poems. But when upon inquiry we find either examples or analogy for ſuch phraſes and words, they then operate in a contrary manner; and confirm us in our original opinion.

There is a paſſage in the firſt battle of Haſtings, of which I have before taken notice. In this the poet ſpeaks of the ſea having *any fructuous entendement*, p. 210. v. 6. I ſcarcely know an expreſſion, which at firſt ſight is more likely to be ſuſpected. Yet there is authority in a Mſſ. poem of Occleve; to which we may well ſuppoſe that Chatterton

ton had never acceſs. It is the ſame, to which I referred before: in which he pays a noble compliment to the memory of Chaucer.

* But weleawaye, ſo is myne heartè wo,
That the honour of Engliſh tonge is dede:
Of which I wont was han counſel and rede.
O Mayſter dere, and fadir reverent,
Mirrour of *fructuous entendement.*
O univerſal fadir in ſcience.

Occleve was of the ſame age as Rowley; and not many years before him. The former of the words occurs compounded in Gawin Douglas.

† Zour fruite is bot unfructuous fantaſye.

Knowlachyng is a word of the ſame nature: equally liable to raiſe ſcruples.

And *knowlachyng* he ſoon muſt quyt this lyfe.
p. 223. v. 283.

Yet there is as good authority for this word, as there was for that above. In the ſtorie of William and the Werwolf, mention is made of two perſons, whoſe conſciences ſtruck them:

‡ And faire before William thei felle on knees both,
And *knowlacheden* al the cas, howe thei caſt hadde.

* See Mr. Wharton's Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 43.

† Prologue, p. 93. l. 25.

‡ Mſſ. King's Col. Fol. 72.

In

In Lydgate it occurs more preciſely in the ſenſe above.

* When King Arthur had *knowlechynge*
Of his foul treaſon.

We read alſo in Wiclif's verſion—The fruyt of lippis knowlechynge to his name. Hebrews, c. xiii.

MINSTER.

An objection has been brought againſt theſe poems, becauſe a church in Briſtol, ſuppoſed to be that of the Auguſtine Monaſtery, is ſtiled a Minſter.

Or fierye round the Mynſter glare.
Song to Ælla, p. 25.

It is thought, that this term is only applicable to † cathedrals: of which number this church of Briſtol was not in the time of Rowley. But I ſhould think, that this objection is not well founded, on account of ſeveral places terminating in Minſter, which were not ſo diſtinguiſhed from being honoured with a cathedral: but from the

* Fol. 16. l. 8.

† *Minſter is a word almoſt appropriated to Cathedrals.* See the Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry by the Rev. Mr. Wharton. vol. ii. p. 156. notes.

church

church of a monaſtery, for which they were noted. Such are Axminſter, Warminſter, Leominſter, Stourminſter; and Minſter, ſimply ſo called, in the iſle of Thanet. The term originally was uſed for a monaſtery: and when it was applied to a church, it denoted the church of ſuch a monaſtery. The church of Ely, I make no doubt, was called the Minſter Church long before it was a Cathedral: and when there remained nothing of the monaſtery but the church, the church retained the name of Minſter. According to ſome writers, every parochial church was ſo called. In the laws of King Edgar, no prieſt is to interfere with another prieſt in that other prieſt's church, or pariſh; nor in any wiſe leſſen his authority.—Ne æt ðo æni þaþa þinga þe him to gebyrige, ne on hiy Mynyten, ne on hiy ycyptycipe. N° 9. This is interpreted, *that he ſhall not abridge him in his church or his pariſh.* It is ſaid of William Rufus, that for the good of his father's ſoul he made preſents to every church in England: to ælcen mynytre: unicuique Eccleſiæ. Chron. Sax. p. 192. King Stephen was buried in the church of Feverſham in Kent; which is ſtiled a Minſter. It is mentioned of King Canute, that he built a church at Aſſendune for the ſouls of thoſe, who had been ſlain in the battle near that place:

place: which church he entruſted to a prieſt named Stigand. This is ſtiled a Minſter, and ſpecified farther, an mynſtep of ſtane ⁊ lime: *a minſter of ſtone and lime.* Chron. Sax. p. 150. The tranſlator of Froiſſart ſpeaks of a Minſter at Paris, which ſeems to have been a common pariſh church. He had been mentioning ſome pageantry exhibited in that city, in honour of the royal family, and ſays,—*Thanafter under the Mynſter of the Trinyte in the ſtrete there was a ſtage,* vol. ii. fol. 173. I think from what has been ſaid, that this term was not appropriated ſolely to cathedrals, nor even to monaſteries. We may add to the foregoing proofs, what we find in the works of the beſt Etymologiſts. Mynſtep, monaſterium, cænobium: — item Eccleſia. Mynſtep-cluſa, Eccleſiæ clauſura. Mynſtpe-clænſung,—Eccleſiæ reconciliatio. Lye and Manning's Sax. Dict. Mynſter, *Church, Monaſtery.* Gloſſ. to Rob. of Glouceſter. Sed et univerſim Eccleſiæ omnes monaſteria dictæ. Du Cange, vol. iv. p. 896. Spelman ſays the ſame. Monaſterium pro Eccleſiâ. I have mentioned, that ſimilar objections have been made on account of Briſtol being in the poem ſtiled a *City,* before it had a cathedral, and became a Biſhop's See. But theſe objections, as I have attempted to ſhew, are alike ill-founded, as may be farther proved from

from the hiſtory of Glouceſter. This place is mentioned as a city long before it was made a ſeat of epiſcopacy: and this may be ſhewn from Doomſday Book. Tempore Regis Eduuardi reddebat *Civitas* de Glowceſtre xxxvi libras numeratas, et xii ſextaria mellis ad menſuram ejuſdem Burgi, &c.

Modo reddit ipſa Civitas Regi lx libras de xx in ora, &c. p. 163.

The ACCOUNTE of W. CANYNGE's FEAST.

The word *account* has been thought liable to exception, as not having been uſed in that ſenſe ſo early. It is ſuppoſed to have related merely to numbers and calculation: and it is therefore concluded, that the poems could not be ſo ancient, as has been imagined. But I ſuſpect that this inference is not juſt; nor the poſition true: for ancient poems have not always titles: and when they have, they are liable to be altered. Hence the poem may be ancient, though the ſuperſcription ſhould appear to have been by a later hand. And after all, I have before quoted a verſe from G. Douglas, where the word is found in a different acceptation; and has no relation to numbers.

* Thy fervent wordis compt I not ane ſtrø.
i. e. eſteem not.

If to compt, or count, be to *eſteem*, then an account muſt be an *eſtimate*.

It is true, Gawin Douglas did not make his verſion of the Æneis till the ſixteenth century, about the year 1513: but his language muſt be eſteemed ſomewhat older; for he was born 1471. So that he commenced nearly, where Rowley ended.

EWBRYCE, or EWBRICE.

Another word, which may have given riſe to ſcruples, is Ewbrice. The Lady Birtha ſays to the Danes in the Tragedy of Ælla,

> Mie thanks I ever onne you wylle beſtowe,
> From *Ewbryce* you mee pyghte, the worſte of mortal woe. p. 157. v. 1085.

The term is explained in the note adultery: but more truly in this place ſignifies violence, rape, and diſhonour. The requeſt made by the lady is not to be kept from committing adultery, but to be ſaved from outrage and raviſhment. It is however certain, that it has alſo the former ſenſe: and it may poſſibly ſeem very ſtrange, that ſuch a word ſhould

* P. 445. l. 36.

be

be found in theſe poems. But nothing was more common than for Saxon writers to affectedly introduce Greek words: and the cuſtom continued to the time, when I ſuppoſe, that this play was compoſed. For I am perſuaded, that the original was the work of Turgott: though it has ſince been reviſed, and put into a new dreſs by Rowley: and that, which may appear matter of ſuſpicion, will be found a proof of its authenticity. William of Malmſbury tries to excuſe the learned * Aldhelm; who had diſguſted many perſons by his unneceſſary introduction of foreign terms in his writings. He is ſpeaking of his treatiſes de Virginitate —† quibus meo judicio nihil dulcius; nihil ſplendidius: quamvis, ut eſt noſtri ſæculi deſidia, quibuſdam nauſeam pariant; non attendentibus, quia juxta mores gentium varientur modi dictaminum. The learned author of the Anglia Sacra ſpeaks of this affectation as prevailing greatly in the times before the conqueſt: and ſays, that Aldhelm was more moderate than others. ‡ Id in

* He was Abbot of Malmſbury; and eſteemed in his time a perſon of great learning, and of equal piety. He was at laſt Biſhop of Shirburn.

† Will. of Malmſbury, de Geſtis Regum Ang. l. i. p. 13.

‡ Wharton's Ang. Sacra. vol. ii. p. 7.

omnibus antiquis chartis eſt animadvertendum, quantum in quibuſdam verbis abſtruſis, ex græco petitis, delectentur. Moderatius tamen ſe agit Aldhelmus. This turn of mind may be in ſome degree perceived even in the grants of princes, of which there are many examples. We have one inſtance in a Latin writ of King Edgar; wherein he does not ſtile himſelf Rex; but—* Ego Edgar Baſileus Anglorum. The like may be ſeen in the grants of other Saxon Kings. Some traces of this taſte may be found long afterwards. Accordingly Gower ſays of an imaginary perſonage,

> She paſſeth, as it were a *ſkie*,
> All clean out of the Ladies ſight:

i. e. like a ſhadow: from the Greek † σκια.

The term Ewbryce from being thus frequently introduced, became in a manner a Saxon word: and we accordingly find in the Dictionaries of that language Ɛpbꝛẏce, *adulterium*. Alſo in Kerſey, Ewbrice, *ſpouſe-breach, adultery*. But how came Chatterton by ſuch obſolete and uncommon words? It may be ſaid from theſe very Dictionaries. But

* Hemingi Chartæ Eccleſ. Wigorn. by Hearne, p. 521.

† See Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, by Rev. Mr. Wharton, vol. ii. p. 29.

can it be imagined, that by poaching and purloining in this abject manner, he compoſed theſe excellent poems? We may as well ſuppoſe, that a pedlar built York cathedral by ſtealing a tile, or a ſtone, in every pariſh that he paſſed through.

A COMPARISON

OF

ROWLEY's POEMS with Compoſitions of other Writers.

THUS have I endeavoured from the miſtakes of the perſon, through whoſe hands we have received theſe poems, to ſhew, that he could not have been the author: and likewiſe from the internal evidence to prove, that they are of the antiquity ſuppoſed. Others have proceeded upon the ſame evidence, but in a different manner, in order to aſcertain the direct contrary. They have taken notice of many words, which they think are no where elſe to be found: and of others, which, though they may be found, yet occur in a different acceptation. They likewiſe object to the rythm of Rowley, and to the harmony of his numbers, which they think too good and accurate for ſo early a date. I muſt confeſs, that I have had my ſcruples upon this head: and my ſuſpicions

were increaſed by the authority of thoſe perſons, among whom theſe doubts prevailed. For they were gentlemen of uncommon learning, to whoſe opinion I could not help paying a very great regard. But when upon a proper inquiry I perceived, that many of theſe terms, which ſeemed to be ſingle and unſupported, were elſewhere to be found; that their purport could be fairly aſcertained, and the ſuppoſed anomalies accounted for; I was obliged to ſuppreſs my ſcruples, and withdraw my former objections. And as to the arguments founded on the rythm and harmony of the verſes, they appeared to me to be very precarious, and by no means to deſerve the attention, which people were pleaſed to pay to them. In every age there will be a difference among writers; and whatever number of poets there may be found, it is a great chance, but there will be ſome one perſon more eminent than the reſt. And though from the texture of a poem, and the mode of compoſition, and more eſpecially from the language, a notion concerning its age may be formed; yet nothing certain can be determined: and we are liable to be greatly deceived. And this will particularly happen, when we apply to words, and ſentences: and even when we form our opinion from detached portions of a poem. Alſo when we compare

compare any compoſition with another of the ſame or a prior age, we are ſtill likely to be miſtaken: for the difference ſubſiſting is not always a difference reſulting from time, but often from ſituation, taſte, and judgment.

Many have maintained, that if theſe poems were of the date ſuppoſed, and if poetry had been ſo much improved, it would never have fallen off afterwards: as there would have been a ſtandard for future compoſition. The lines in Rowley for the moſt part terminate with the true accent: and ſeldom cloſe with words of three or four ſyllables, as is obſervable in other poets of that century. This excellence, ſay they, being once eſtabliſhed, would have been copied by ſubſequent writers. But herein, I think, there is much uncertainty: and whoever proceeds upon theſe principles, may form a very wrong judgment: for this rule of determination is certainly very precarious. To evidence, what is here mentioned, I will lay ſome particular examples of poetry before the reader.

There be two ſtout ſons of Æacus,
Fierce Peleus, and the hardie Telamon:
Both ſeeming now full glad, and joyeous,
Through the Syre's dreadfull juriſdiction:
Being the judge of all the horrid houſe:
And both of them by ſtrange occaſion,
Renown'd in choyſe of happie marriage,
Through Venus' grace and virtue's carriage.

Theſe

Theſe verſes are manifeſtly very rough, and void of good rythm: at the ſame time they certainly terminate in an unpleaſing manner. Let us now ſubjoin ſome of a different caſt.

O flocks, O fauns, and O ye pleſaunt ſtreams
Of Tempe, where the country nymphs are rife,
Through whoſe not coſtly care each ſhepheard ſings
As merrie notes upon the ruſticke fife
As that Aſcræan bard, whoſe fame now rings
Through the wide world——

Let us add to theſe a few more of the ſame turn and cadence.

Ah, weladay, there is no end of payne,
Nor change of labour may intreated be:
Yet I beyond all theſe am carried far,
Where other pow'rs far different I ſee,
And muſt paſs over to the Elyſian plain, &c.

At what intervals were theſe different ſamples firſt produced; and who were the writers, that compoſed them? By thoſe, who were not before acquainted with them, it may be ſuppoſed, that there was a century and an half between them. No: they were of the ſame age, and from the ſame poet: and make a part of the ſame * poem. I mention this to ſhew, that, though there may be examples given, and a kind of ſtandard formed; yet the whole will be ſometimes but

* Virgil's Gnat, by Spencer.

partially,

partially, at other times not at all, obſerved. For if we find this difference in one and the ſame perſon, we muſt expect to meet with it among different people, and at different times.

It is not therefore an infallible way of proceeding to determine concerning one compoſition by another: nor muſt we uniformly ſuppoſe, becauſe a writer may be in ſome degree ſmooth and eaſy, that he muſt neceſſarily be of modern date. There are many paſſages in Spencer, which have a very obſolete appearance, far beyond the age of the poet. Both the terms, and the phraſes, of which he often makes uſe, alſo the manner of arrangement, and the turn of his verſification, afford evidence of this. Yet all his poetry has not this antique caſt; nor has the poetry of the times: and there are to be found verſes ſomewhat prior, which one would imagine were the produce of a much later æra. To this purpoſe I will beg leave to introduce a curious example: but I will firſt begin with ſome verſes from Spencer.

The ſoveraine of the ſeas he blames in vain
That once ſeabeat will to ſea again.
So loytring live you little heard-groomes,
Keeping your beaſts in the budded broomes,
And when the ſhining ſunne laugheth once,
You deemen the ſpring is come attonce:
Tho ginne you fond flies the cold to ſcorn,
And crowen in pipes made of greene corne,

You thinken to be lordes of the yeere,
And efte when ye count you freed from feare,
Comes the breme winter with chamfred browes,
Full of wrincles and froſtie furrowes.

Spencer's Shep. Calend. Paſtoral 4.

Let me now ſubjoin ſome verſes of a different nature from another writer.

The Almightie mind, that reigneth Three in one,
Diſpoſing all things from his ſtable throne,
Beheld the earth, and man among the reſt,
Moved by the crie of ſuch as were oppreſs'd.
But when he had the continent through viewd
With mawmetrie and idol blood embrew'd,
Where through his law and goſpel were defiled,
His love, his awe, his worſhip, quite exil'd:
He turn'd his face from that ſo foul a ſight,
And toward the iſles he caſt his look aright:
In hope, that where religion did abound,
He ſhould ſome lovelier ſight have quickly found.
But when he ſaw all ſins, moſt vile and naught,
Moſt rifely ſwarm where moſt his word was taught,
In England chief, where he of ſpecial grace
Had choſe to be his church and goſpel place;
And had for that cauſe pour'd on it ſuch ſtore
Of wealthy gifts, as none could wiſh for more,
Join'd with a king of ſuch a godly mind,
As never eers he ever had aſſign'd,
All woe and wrath he turn'd away his face, &c.

Theſe verſes might paſs for a compoſition of the preſent times, did we not know preciſely, when they were compoſed and printed. They are ſome years prior to the verſes of Spencer, with which they are contraſted, having been publiſhed by the learned author near

near two hundred and thirty years ago. They are therefore more ancient than any thing publiſhed by the celebrated poet of that age: yet from their ſmoothneſs, rythm, and language, one might be led to imagine, that they were at leaſt a century poſterior. They might indeed be fairly taken for a work of the preſent * age.

To theſe let me ſubjoin an extract from ſome excellent verſes compoſed by Sir Henry Lea, Maſter of the Armoury to Queen Elizabeth, which I take the liberty to copy from ſome of thoſe curious fragments of antiquity preſerved by the honourable Mr. Walpole. Sir Henry had promiſed to appear in arms, and perform his duty every year in honour of her Majeſty; unleſs ſickneſs or age ſhould prevent him. Accordingly in the 33d year of her reign he made his appearance; but finding himſelf too much impaired by time for ſuch rough encounters, he paid his duty in another manner: and among other things he compoſed ſome verſes, of which the following ſtanzas were a chief part.

My helmet now ſhall make an hive for bees;
And lovers ſongs ſhall turne to holy pſalms:
A man at armes muſt now ſit on his knees,
And feed on prayers, that are old ages almes.

* They are extracts from a poem compoſed by Sir John Cheeke, upon the death of King Edward the Sixth; and printed 1553.

And

And ſo from court to cottage I depart:
My ſaint is ſure of my unſpotted hart.

And when I ſadly ſit in homely cell,
I'le teach my ſwaines this carrol for a ſong;
Bleſt be the hearts, that thinke my ſovereigne well;
Curs'd be the ſoules, that thinke to do her wrong.
Goddeſſe, vouchſafe this aged man his right;
To be your beadſman now, that was your knight.

If excellence betokens newneſs, theſe verſes ſhould have been of far later date, than is preſumed. But we know for certain, that they were compoſed, and ſet to muſic, as early as the year 1591: and were part of an addreſs to Queen Elizabeth, when Sir Henry Lea made his annual appearance in compleat armour before * her. He was contemporary with Spencer; on which account I bring theſe verſes as a contraſt to thoſe of that poet, which I quoted above.

I cannot forbear introducing ſome further paſſages from poems; and this in order to ſhew, that we may find compoſitions ſtill more ancient; which are tolerably harmonious; and alſo very intelligible: while others of far later date have a more antique appearance, and are difficult to be underſtood. The firſt inſtance ſhall be from the well known Scotiſh poem upon Sir William Wal-

* See Miſcellaneous Antiquities, or, a Collection of Curious Papers, &c. N° 1. p. 45. printed at Strawberry Hill, 1772.

lace.

lace. It is compoſed in the provincial dialect; but attended with very little obſcurity. The hero is introduced as retiring into a wood, and there blaming himſelf for having by ſome miſconduct brought his companions into a ſtate of diſtreſs.

Out of thair ſight into ane foreſt ſyde
He ſet him doun under ane aik to byde.
His bow and ſword he leynit to ane tre,
In anguiſch greit: on * grouf than turnit he.
This piteous mane was for his men ſa wrocht,
That of him ſelf lytill thing than he rocht.
O wretche, he ſaid, that never couth be content,
Of † ouir greit micht, that the greit God the lent.
* * * * * *
Far worthier, than I of birth was borne,
Throwe my deſyre for hunger ar forlorne;
I aſk at God, tham to reſtore again:
I am the caus, I ſuld have all the pane. l. 12. p. 170.

I will beg leave to introduce ſome more lines from another part of the ſame poem.

On Wallace ſet ane bicker bauld and kene,
Ane bow, he bair, was big and weill beſene;
And arrowis als baith lang and ſchairp with aw,
Na man thair was, that Wallace bow micht draw.
Richt ſtark he was, and in full ſouer geir,
Baldlie he ſchot amang thay men of weir.
Ane angill heid unto the huikis he drew;
‡ Syne at ane ſchot the foremoſt ſone he ſlew.
L. 4. p. 29.

Theſe verſes were the compoſition of a perſon ſtiled Blind Harry, in the reign of Ed-

* On his face. † Your. ‡ Then.

ward

ward the Fourth of England, and James 3d of Scotland. I will now ſubjoin a ſample of later date from a celebrated author of the ſame country. He is ſpeaking of the evil in the world; and the variety of wretchedneſs, which every where appears.

The railzeare rekkinis na wourdis, bot ratlis furth ranys.
Ful rude and ryot reſouns bayth roundalis and ryme.
Swengeouris and ſkuryvagis ſwankys and ſwanys,
Gevis na cure to cun craft, nor comptis for na cryme,
Wyth beirdis as beggaris, thocht byg be thare banys.
Na labour liſt thay luke tyl, thare luſſis are bierd lyme:
Get ane biſmare ane barne, than al hyr blys gane is,
Sche wyl not wyrk thocht ſche want, bot waiſtis hir tyme,
In thigging, as it thryft war, and uthir vane thewis.

Prologue of Gawin Douglas to the 8th Book of Æneis.

Who would imagine that theſe verſes were many years poſterior to thoſe, which were quoted above? It may be ſaid, that the former have probably ſuffered ſome alteration. It may be ſo: but we have no intimation of any ſuch change: and if there has been; Rowley may have been altered in the ſame manner: ſo that we muſt make the ſame allowance to one, as we do to the other. As to the poem of Blind Harry, the copy from which I quote, has been printed an hundred and eighty years: which gives a tolerable antiquity to the language. But the poem itſelf

itſelf is ſuppoſed to be an hundred and twenty or thirty years more * ancient. We know for certain that it was far prior to the verſes, with which it is above compared.

I have other examples to produce, which are ſtill more to the purpoſe. In theſe there will neceſſarily be found ſome tincture of the times: yet the lines are very clear and intelligible. They have nothing in their compoſition, which is ſtiff and unnatural: but the true order of the words is properly preſerved; and the whole is attended with a rythm and harmony, far beyond what might be expected. I ſhall more readily make ſome extracts from the poems, to which I allude, as they are of the age of Rowley: and they are likewiſe written in the kind of ſtanza, which is often made uſe of by him.

The words of Grace to the ſick ſoul by way of warning.

The byrd, that ſyngeth on the braunche ſo hye,
And ſheweth hymſelf a luſty jolyvet,
Unto the deth is ſmyten ſodenly,
Er he be ware, or taken with a net.
I hane the ſay'd, how deth the hath aſſet,
And wel nigh undermined is thy wal:
But thou beware: ful grevous is thy fall.

* Some have referred it to the year 1361; but this cannot be true.

Two ſtanzas upon the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, who is compared to a branch. The words ſuppoſed to be ſung by Angels.

A bleſſed floure out of this ſpray ſhall ſprynge,
The fruyte ſhalle be ful ryche and precious;
A cauſe have we to joyen and to ſynge,
In honoure of that Mayden gracious,
That greate comfort ſhalle cauſen unto us.
For now ſhall faſt oure company encrees,
And God with man ſhalle make a fynal pees.

Of the WELL of LIFE.

Oute of this wel ſo noble lycour ran,
So fayre, ſo freſhe, ſo luſty hony-ſwete,
That ſythe the firſt day (that) the world began,
With ſuch a welle myght never no man mete.
All hevynes and malice ie foryete.
As toward man excuſed clene is he. (*i. e.* Chriſt.)
Honoured be the bleſſed Trynyte.

A ſtanza in the Song of Grace, who is ſpeaking to the Pilgrim.

Now cheſe thy port, of which thou wilt arrive.
But two ther ben; of ſolace, and dyſtreſſe.
At one thou myght thy ſelven kepe alyve;
And ever abyde in joye and luſtyneſſe.
That other port is care and wretchedneſſe.
Here cometh deth; and if that he the ſmyte,
There nys no leche, that can thy lyf reſpyte.

Grace

Grace ſpeaks again, and ſays—

How oft (en) time have I the told, and taught
The worthyneſſe of vertu and the mede?
How oft have I the from the clutches caught
Of Sathanas? yet takeſt thou no hede.
But now beware; and not withouten nede.
For ſykerly the bowe is bent ful ſore
To ſmyten the: then may I doo no more.

It is objected to Rowley, that many of his lines, if they were written as we ſpell now, would be found to differ very little from the language of the preſent times. How many verſes are there among thoſe, which I have quoted above, that would have the ſame appearance: and yet we are certain of their antiquity? For they were printed near three hundred years ago: and the perſon, who either compoſed, or tranſlated them, muſt have been ſtill prior: ſo that we may fairly rate him as a contemporary with Rowley. They may therefore ſerve to take off many objections made to the compoſitions in queſtion; eſpecially when it is urged, that they ſometimes want the true ſtamp of antiquity.

The following lines are as liable to be excepted to as any in Rowley; if a modern caſt be an exception. They might eaſily be put into a new dreſs: though I think, that they ſcarcely ſtand in need of it.

Thou, Lucifer, that lyeſt in hell ybounde;
That whylome was one of our company:
This mayden ſhalle the utterly confound.

Again in another place.—

I have been wyth the, when thou knew it not:
How oft(en) have I warned the bifore:
Somewhile aperte (and) ſomewhile prively?

I have produced theſe extracts, together with thoſe which preceded, to ſhew, how liable we are to be miſtaken, when we judge too peremptorily from ſtyle; and determine from thence the age of a compoſition. The verſes above for language, and rythm, are far ſuperior to any thing in Skelton: nor do they betray a greater ſhew of antiquity than many lines in Spencer, who was a century poſterior. There is therefore nothing ſaid againſt Rowley, which might not be urged againſt theſe; did we not know their antiquity. This proves, that objections of this nature are not well founded: for we are morally certain, that theſe poems are genuine: and we can form ſome judgment of their age from the time when they were printed. The ſame antiquity may be therefore allowed to Rowley. The examples, which I have quoted, are extracts from ſacred hymns interſperſed in a book ſtiled *The Pilgrimage of the Soul.* It is a tranſlation from a French treatiſe: and was printed by Caxton at Weſtminſter, anno 1483. The ſtanzas quoted are to be found, fol. 31. fol. 100. fol. 103. and fol. 19, and 20. They are written in the ſame kind

kind of ſtanza, as the Elinoure and Juga of Rowley; and the excellente Balade of Charitie. Some poems of Rowley are compoſed in the octave ſtanza: others conſiſt of ten lines; as is obſervable for the moſt part in Ælla, and the Eclogues, and the two Battles of Haſtings. This laſt meaſure ſeems to be that, which was called Rythme Royal; and could not but be well known in the times of which we have been treating: as the Italians extended their ſtanzas to this length, and ſometimes much beyond it. *Rithme royal is a verſe of ten ſyllables: and ten ſuch verſes make a ſtaffe* *. Gaſcoigne.

Other OBJECTIONS anſwered.

It is farther ſaid of theſe poems, that as they in ſome places ſeem too modern; ſo at other times they have a ſhew of too great antiquity. For they often abound with terms uncommon and obſolete; many of which are not to be found in the writings of that, or the preceding, age. The reaſon of this was probably, becauſe the author was fond of ancient lore: much of which he ſeems to have induſtriouſly adopted. He

* See Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, by the Rev. Mr. Wharton, vol. ii. p. 165.

was moreover a provincial writer: and provincial terms are local: and we muſt not wonder, if they are not to be found among thoſe, who wrote in the capital, and addreſſed themſelves to the court. And this is not peculiar to Rowley: the like is to be obſerved in Robert of Glouceſter; as well as in Robert Langelande of Cleyberie. The ſame difference is to be alſo found in various manuſcripts. As to the laſt mentioned perſon, who was the author of the Ploughman's Crede, and Viſion, he is as much upon the extremes as Rowley. For he is not only in reſpect to diction as ancient, a circumſtance we might well expect; but oftentimes as modern, though a century before him. But though he abounds with antique terms, yet his diction is clear, and his words flow for the moſt part in their natural order; and his arrangement in moſt inſtances varies very little from that, which is in uſe at this day. His lines are often extended to fifteen ſyllables: but generally are fewer, and the metre is a kind of imperfect anapæſtic meaſure, attended with an uniform alliteration. I will give a ſample of ſome of the verſes, where the poet repreſents himſelf as taking a view of Nature, which he calls *Kind*.

And ſlepyng I ſe all thys, and ſythen came Kind
And named me by my name, and bad me nimen hede,
And

And through the wonders of this world wyt to take:
And on a mountain in the mydle erth hight as me thought
I was fette forth by enſamples to know,
And through ech creature, and kynd, my creatour to love.
I ſe the ſunne and the ſea, and the ſonde after,
And where the brydes and beaſtes by her makes they * yeden
Wyld wormes in woodes and wonderful fowles.
* * * * * *
Byrdes I beheld, that in buſhes made neſtes;
Had never wyghte wytte to worke the leſte.
I had wonder at whom and where the pie learned
To lygge the ſtickes, in which ſhe layeth and breadeth.
Nys wryght, as I wene, could worch her neſt to pay.
* * * * * * *
And yet me marvelled more, howe many other birds
Hydden and † hylden her egges full derne
In maryes and mores, for men ſhould hem not find:
And hydden her egges, whan they therfro went,
For fear of other fowles, and for wylde beaſtes.
* * * * * * *
And ſithen I loked on the ſea, and ſo forth on the ſtarres
Many ‡ ſelkouthes I ſee, but not to ‖ ſe now.
I ſee floures in the frythe and her fayre colours,
And how among the grene graſſe growed ſo many huis,
And ſome four and ſome ſwete; ſelkought me thought:
Of her kindes and of her coloures to carp it were long.

Ploughman's Viſion, fol. 58.

In another place the happy conſequences of a good conſcience, and the many evils which enſue from vice, are finely deſcribed.

* Go with their mates in pairs. † Covered.
‡ Wonderful things.
‖ Not to ſay, or mention at this ſeaſon.

Antichriſt had thus ſone hundreds at his banner,
And Pride it bare boldly about, where he * yede,
With a lord, that liveth after the likinge of his body,
That came againſt conſcience, that keper was and gydour
Over kind chriſten and cardinall vertues.
I counſel, quoth Conſcience, come with me foles
Into unitye of holy church, and hold we us there,
And cry we to Kind, that he come and defend us:
And cry we to all the commune, that they come to unitye
And there abyde and † biker againſt Belial's children.
Kind conſcience ‡ tho heard, and came out of the planettes
And ſent forth his forriours, fevers and fluxes,
Coughes and cordiacles, crampes and toth-aches
Reumes and radgondes, and raynous ſcalles,
Byles and botches, and burnynge agues,
Freneſes, and foul evill, foragers of Kinde,
That largely a legion loſten their lives ſone.
There was harow and helpe, here commeth Kinde,
Wyth death, that is dreadful to undone us all.
* * * * * * *
Age, the hoore, he was in the vawward,
And bare the banner before death; by right he it claimed.
Kinde came after with manye kene fores,
As pockes and peſtilences, and much puple ſhent,
So kind through corruptions killed full many.
Death came dryving after and all to duſt paſhed
Kynges and Kayſers, Knyghtes and Popes,
Learned, ne § lewed, he ne let no man ſtande.
That he hitte even, he never ſtode after.
Many a lovely lady, and the lemmans of knightes,
Swoned and ſweltered for ſorow of deathes dints.

* Went. † Fight. ‡ Then. § Laymen.

Conſcience

Conſcience of his curteſye to Kynd then beſought
To ceaſe and to ſuffer, and ſe whether they woulde
Leave pryde privelye, and be perfite chriſten:
And pryde ceaſed tho, to ſe the people amende.
Fortune gan flatteren then tho fewe, that were alive,
And hight hem long life: and lechery ſhe ſent
Amonge all maner of men, wedded and unwedded,
And gathered a greate hoſte all againſt conſcience.
This lecherye leyed on with a laughing chere,
And with a privye ſpeach and painted wordes;
And armed him in idleneſs and in highe bearynge.
He bare a bowe in his hand: and many blouddy arrowes
Were feathered with fair beheſt and many a falſe
* truth.

Ploughman's Viſion, fol. 62.

There is high colouring in theſe verſes, and a vein of good poetry. Milton was acquainted with their excellence: for he has borrowed from one part of them; as may be ſeen in the twelfth book of his principal poem. We may obſerve, that the words are for the moſt part placed in their natural order: and the rythm is as juſt, and the lines flow as ſmoothly, as any where in Rowley: yet this compoſition, as far as we can judge, was a century prior.

Many however, who are admirers of theſe poems, ſtill inſiſt, that arts take up time to come to maturity; and that poetry muſt proceed by degrees towards excellence. It there-

* Truth and troth ſignified a promiſe.

fore

fore could not at ſo early a period have arrived at this degree of perfection. But this is mere matter of opinion, and by no means well founded. There was time ſufficient for a proper progreſs in ſcience: and in conſequence of it, a regular courſe of improvement. This may be ſeen, if we carry our views backward from the writings of Robert of Glouceſter down to thoſe of Gower, Lydgate, and Chaucer, and ſo onward in a ſeries to Occleve and Rowley. There is nothing ſo ſurpriſing in the pre-eminence of this laſt perſon among his compeers, as not to be found in the character of * Joſephus Iſcanus, who was for Latin verſe full as extraordinary in his time. The Engliſh began to have great helps towards improvement in the times of Lydgate and the writers above mentioned. They had commenced an acquaintance with the Roman poets; but more particularly with the Italians: to which laſt they looked up as to models of taſte: and whoſe works they copied, and tranſlated at large. Dante and Petrarch are often mentioned by them: and the metre, in which they wrote, and particularly their ſtanzas, ſhew, that they cloſely copied the Italians. This

* He lived and flouriſhed before the year 1200, and after, in the reigns of King Richard the Firſt, and King John.

leads

leads me to conſider an exception made to the poems in queſtion on account of the excellent rythm, with which they are for the moſt part attended; and of the true accent, which the author has preſerved in his terminations: there not being that undue ſtreſs laid on final ſyllables, as is to be found among other writers. It is to be obſerved, that when our poets began to be acquainted with the writers of Italy, they unhappily copied them with too little reſerve, in concluding their lines with words of many ſyllables. This, however admiſſible among the Italians, our language would not bear: and the harmony of our verſe was in great meaſure ruined by it. Yet the mode of writing was followed more or leſs from Gower and Lydgate down to Fairfax and Spencer. How cloſely it was copied by Lydgate, may be ſeen in every page; or to ſay the truth in every ſtanza. Of this we may have an example in the very firſt, which occurs in his poem of the Fall of Princes.

Whan John Bochas conſideryd had and ſought
The woful falle of myghty conquerours
A rememberaunce entryd in his thought
Recknyng the nombre of oure predeceſſoures
And firſt to mynd came the progenitoures
Of all mankynd. Far I ranne in age,
And towarde him holdynge their paſſage.

In

In ſome ſtanzas every line terminates in this unpleaſing manner. Thus, where he is mentioning the happineſs of our firſt parents in Paradiſe, he deſcribes it in the following manner.

And of their bliſſe to make mention,
And of their joyes, that were celeſtial,
There may be made no compariſon
Of no joy, that is temporal,
Which ſhulde have be laſtynge and immortal,
Evir to have lyvyd in myrth and gladneſſe,
Save ageyn reaſon of very wilfulneſſe.

This mode of writing was undoubtedly more or leſs followed for a long time. Yet is there any thing extraordinary in a perſon of a good ear and taſte, deviating from this manner of compoſition, and following better examples? People have imagined, that all writers in theſe early times were equally void of rythm. But this is a great miſtake. In the extracts from Pierce Plowman (it matters not what the meaſure is) a juſt cadence is generally maintained; and the true accent preſerved upon the terminating ſyllable. Robert of Glouceſter was no poet, but a mere verſifyer: yet he had taſte enough to be ſomewhat cautious about the polyſyllabic * clo-

* He ſometimes admits it, when he is giving a liſt of places. When he ends with words of two ſyllables, there is reaſon to think, that in thoſe times the accent was upon the laſt; though it may have been ſince removed backward.

ſure.

ſure. It is to be found oftener in ten lines of Lydgate, Gower, and even of Spencer, than in an hundred of this writer. Hence we may perceive, that this mode of proceeding in Rowley was not new: though he has certainly improved upon thoſe, who went before him. I will produce an example to this purpoſe: by which it will appear, that writers very early knew how to keep up the natural arrangement of their ſentences, and to terminate their lines without any unnatural force in pronunciation. The verſes, which I quote, are from Robert of Glouceſter, and from the very beginning of his Chronicle.

Engelond ys a wel god lond, ich wene of eche lond beſt.
Yſet in the ende of the world, as al in the weſt.
The ſee goth hym al a boate: he ſtont as an yle.
Here ſon heo durre the laſſe doute, but his be thorw gyle.
Of ſol of the ſelve lond, as me hath y ſeye wyle,
From ſouth to north he ys long eigte hondred myle.
And four hondred myle brod from eſt to weſt to wende,
Amydde the lond as yt be, and nogt as by the on ende.
Plente me may in Engelond of alle gode y ſe,
Bute ſole yt for gulte other geres the worſe be.
For Engelond ys ful ynow of fruyt and of tren,
Of woodes and of parkes, that joye yt ys to ſen.
Of foules and of beſtes of wylde and tame alſo:
Of falt fyſch and eche freſch, and fayre ryveres ther to.
Of welles ſwete and cold ynow, of leſen and of mede,
Of ſelver and of gold, of tyn, and of lede.
Of ſtel, of yrn, and of bras, of god corn gret won,
Of whyte and of wolle god, betere ne may be none.

Wateres

Wateres he hath eke gode y now, ac before alle other thre,
Out of the lond into the fee, armes as thei be.
Ware by the fchippes nowe come fro the fe and wende
And brynge on londe god y now a boute in eche ende.
Severne and the Temefe, Humber yt ys the thridde,
And then ys, as we feith, the pure lond a midde.

The language in this extract muft neceffarily be obfolete; as the perfon, by whom it was compofed, lived an hundred years before Lydgate, and near two hundred before * Rowley. At the fame time there are no pretenfions to poetry. Yet we may perceive, that the lines flow more equably and fmoothly, than in many poets of later date. The like may be obferved in many poems of thefe times, and even before; when we were as yet unacquainted with the Italians. Many of thofe, who compofed ftanzas, wrote with great eafe; and for the moft part made their rhymes correfpond with the true accent of the terminating words. This will appear from many extracts to be found in Mr. Whar-

* He muft have flourifhed between the years 1260 and 1270, as he makes mention of the battle of Evefham in the reign of King Henry the Third; and of the uncommon darknefs, which then prevailed, and of which he was an eye witnefs.

— this ifel Roberd,
That verft this boc made, and was wel fore aferd.
p. 560.

The Battle of Evefham was in the year 1265.

ton,

ton, if we look into his firſt and ſecond ſections concerning the hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry: from whence I will take the liberty of borrowing the following example. It appears, as we are told, to have been written by a lover in a walk near Peterborough about the year 1200, and as I ſhould judge in autumn.

Now * ſkruketh roſe and lylie flour,
That † whilen ber that ſuete ſavour,
In ſomer, that ‡ ſuete tyde:
Ne is no quene ſo ‖ ſtark ne ſtour,
Ne no luedy ſo bryit in bour,
That ded ne ſhal by glyde.
Whoſo wol fleſhýe luſt for-gon and hevene bliſſe abyde,
On Jheſu be is thoht anon, that § tharled was ys ſide.

p. 30.

We have examples to the ſame purpoſe in the oppoſite page, but in a different meaſure. A lover addreſſes his miſtreſs, whom he ſuppoſes to be the moſt beautiful girl—

* Skruketh. fadeth: dieth. Skrokr, cadaver. ſkrokrman, cadaver hominis. Olaus. Verelius.

† That whilom, or one while, bore that ſweet ſavour. Savour comes from the French, *ſaveur*. Savour, honour, favour, and other words of the ſame analogy, borrowed from France, had in theſe times the accent uniformly upon the laſt ſyllable.

‡ Suete tyde: *pleaſant ſeaſon*.

‖ Stark and ſtour ſignify *hale* and *ſtrong*. From ſtour comes the word *ſturdy*, uſed at this day.

§ Tharled, the ſame as *thrilled:* pierced.

* Bitucne Lyncolne and Lyndeſeye, Northampton and Lounde.

' When the nytenhale ſinges, the wodes waxen grene,
Lef, gras, and bloſme, ſpringes in Avril y wene.

Theſe things I have mentioned, that people may not imagine, that Rowley had no patterns to follow but Lydgate, Gower, and Chaucer: and that he muſt neceſſarily have formed his ſtyle by them if he had written, what is attributed to him. But there were many writers prior to theſe; and ſome, that were contemporaries, who were not perhaps ſo good poets, yet wrote with more eaſe; and preſerved the harmony of the language: which Lydgate and Gower ſeem greatly to have injured. It is a great miſtake, to think, that Rowley was the firſt, whoſe rhymes were juſt; and whoſe verſes were ſmooth and natural. In proof of this I beg of any one to conſult the hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry by Mr. Wharton. Let him particularly conſider the extracts from the life of St. Margaret and St. Swithen, vol. i. p. 13. 15. both of great antiquity. The poem alſo called Vernon's Soulehele is worth his notice, p. 101. which begins—

Our lady and her ſiſter ſtood under the rood.

* They are ſuppoſed to be the product of the thirteenth century, and to have been compoſed towards the beginning of it.

or

or as it is expreſſed in the original

Oure Ladi and hire ſuſter ſtoden under the roode.

See alſo the Love-ſong—

Blow, northerne wynd; * ſent
Thou me my ſuetynge: blow
Northerne wynd, &c.
Ich † ot a burde in boure bryte
That full ſeemly is on ſyht. p. 26.

See alſo, p. 32. and all the poems before the year 1200. If we are not prejudiced by the obſoleteneſs of the terms, and the ſeeming uncouthneſs of the ſpelling, we ſhall find, that they ſhew greater eaſe, a better flow, and terminate more truly, than thoſe, which were an hundred, and an hundred and fifty years after. The writers, who immediately ſucceeded, have the ſame excellence. The language of times ſo remote muſt neceſſarily have ſome tincture of antiquity: otherwiſe, in reſpect to verſification, what can be eaſier than the following lines? They are taken from the Squire of Low Degree, a Romance in verſe, attributed to the thirteenth century, and alluded to by Chaucer. The daughter of a King of Hungary is repreſented as opening her chamber window in a morning, and liſtening to the ſquire's complaint.

* For ſend. † For got.

* That Ladi herde hys mournynge alle,
Ryght undir the chambre walle:
In her † oryall ‡ there ſhe was,
Cloſyd well with royall glas.
Fulfyllyd yt was with ymagery:
Every windowe by and by
On eche ſyde had ther a § gynne
‖ Sperde with manie a dyvers pynne.
Anone that ladie fayre and free
Undyd a pynne of yvere,
And wyd the wyndowes ſhe open ſet,
The ſunne ſhonne yn at his ** cloſet.
In that arbre fayre and gaye,
She ſawe, where the ſquyre lay.

There are many of theſe ancient poems, of which if we alter the ſpelling, and reduce it to the preſent uſage, the harmony of the lines will be more apparent. And this may be done without any force: and the verſes will then appear more modern by ſome centuries, than we know them in reality to be. This may be tried, if we take ſome paſſages

* Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry, vol. i. p. 175.

† A gothick, projecting window. There is in fortification a projecting work or caſemate, called an orillon at this day.

‡ The ſame as *where*.

§ It ſignifies an opening, from ȝin and ȝinn, hiatus, intercapedo. See Lye and Manning's Dict.

‖ From the verb ſpar, to faſten.

** By cloſet here is meant a little cloſe: a ſmall portion of ground incloſed: which in the next line is explained by a bower, or arbour.

from

from the poem before mentioned. In this the King of Hungary is ſuppoſed to addreſs and comfort his diſconſolate daughter; and to make her many noble promiſes, in order to alleviate her ſorrow. Among other things he tells her,

* To morrow you ſhall a hunting fare,
And † yede, my daughter, in a chair.
It ſhall be covered with velvet red,
And cloth of gold, about your head;
With damaſk white, and azure blue,
Well diaper'd with lilies new.
Your mantel of rich degree,
Purple pall, and ermine ‡ free.
Jennets of Spain, that be ſo white,
Trapp'd to the ground with velvet bright.
You ſhall have pſaltry, harp, and ſong,
And other mirthes you among.
You ſhall have Rumney, and Maleſpine,
Both Hippocras and vernage wine, &c.

---

* The original is as follows:

To morow ye ſhall yn huntyng fare,
And yede my doughter yn a chare.
Yt ſhal be coverd wyth velvette reade,
And clothes of (fyne) gold (al) about your hede
With damaſke whyte, and azure blewe,
Wel dyaperd with lyllies new.
Your mantel of ryche degre,
Purple pall and armyne fre, &c.

† Go.

‡ By free is ſignified any thing genteel and liberal: alſo any thing elegant and graceful.

When you come home your * menie among,
You ſhall have revel, dance, and ſong.
Little children, great and ſmall,
Shall ſing, as doth the nightengale.
Then you ſhall go to evenſong
With tenours and trebles among.
Threeſcore copes of damaſk bright:
Full of pearls they ſhall be † pyght.
Your cenſers ſhall be of gold,
Indent of ‡ azure many a fold, &c.
To your chamber they ſhall you bring
With much mirth and more liking.
When you are laid in bed ſo ſoft,
A cage of gold ſhall hang aloft,
With long pepper fair burning,
And cloves, that be ſweet ſmelling,
Frankinincenſe and Olibanum,
That when you ſleep, the § taſte may come.
And, if you no reſt can take,
‖ All night minſtrels for you ſhall wake.

I quote theſe extracts to ſhew in general the juſtneſs of the terminations, the eaſy and natural flow of the verſes, and the true

* Your family and friends: alſo your attendants and menial ſervants.

† Put, placed, or ſet.

‡ It ſeems to be lapis lazuli, which is here meant by azure. The cenſers were to be indented, or inlaid, with many little ſlabs of that blue ſtone. Azure alſo ſignified a dye or paint made of that mineral. Hence we read above of *damaſk white and azure blue: i. e.* a blue dye.

§ The flavour; fragrance.

‖ This poem is ſuppoſed to be written about the year 1280, or 1290, at leaſt before the end of that century.

order,

order, which is for the moſt part obſervable in the ſyntax. From hence we may learn, that Rowley had many examples to follow, far preferable for harmony either to Lydgate or Gower; though a great many years before them. To prove this preference, let me by way of contraſt produce ſome lines of Gower; who is ſuppoſed to have been a century and an half later: and that I may not be thought to pick out the very worſt, I will take the firſt, which occur in the very beginning of his poem; and conclude with the laſt.

I maye not ſtretche uppe to the heven
Myn honde, ne ſet al in even
This worlde, which ever is in balaunce:
It ſtant not in my ſuffiſaunce,
So great thinges to compaſſe,
But I mote lette it over paſſe,
And treaten upon other thynges,
For thy the ſtyle of my wrytinges
Fro this day forth I thynke (to) chaunge, &c. L. i.

How little he changed his ſtyle for the better, may be ſeen from the laſt paragraph at the end of the ſame poem: for I will make my quotations from the two extremes.

And nowe to ſpeke as in fynalle
Touchende that I undertook,
In Englyſshe for to make a boke,
Whiche ſtant betwene erneſt and game,
I have it made, as thylke ſame,
Whiche aſke for to be excuſed,
And that my boke be not refuſed.

Of lered men, when they it ſe
For lacke of curyoſyte.
For thylke ſcole of eloquence
Belongeth not to my ſcyence,
Upon the forme of rhetorike
My wordes for to peynte and pyke.
Confeſſ. Amant. p. ult.

Theſe lines bear ſufficient marks of antiquity; yet in ſome of theſe ancient writings the phraſes appear ſo trite, and common, and the whole turn of the language is of ſo modern a caſt, that we can hardly perſuade ourſelves that they can be of the age, or from the author to which they are referred. Such is the following expreſſion of a man in doubt; who is made to ſay, *Myn eie I caſte all aboute to knowe, amonge hem, who is who.* In another place we find a deſcription given of an ancient philoſopher, to the following purport. *He * fonde the nature of every element: their kindly workynge, and their mutacions: the courſe of ſtarres; and of the firmamente: their influences; their diſpoſitions; their aſpects, and their conjunctions; wrote in pillers deviſed of metal,* &c. Alter the ſpelling in two or three places, and the lines will appear as modern, as any of the preſent century. Nay, they might be produced as having been written yeſterday. But it may be ſaid, that theſe are not poetry. Certainly not: and

* For found, diſcovered.

perhaps,

perhaps, properly ſpeaking, not verſe: yet they were deſigned for both: and this will appear, when I aſſure the reader, that the firſt quotation is from * Gower, and the other from † Lydgate. Though I have written them quite at length, and not introduced either of them as verſe, nor the latter quotation as part of a ſtanza, yet the ſeveral parts were deſigned to correſpond, and to rhyme; two circumſtances, which if I had not thus noticed, the reader would hardly have found out.

When therefore we dwell upon detached pieces, and judge of the whole from a part, we are liable to be greatly deceived; let thoſe pieces be either bad or good. For writers are not uniform, and conſiſtent. As a proof of this I will produce ſome paſſages from the laſt rough poet, that I mentioned: which paſſages will be found not only of as modern an appearance, but alſo as ſmooth and as poetical, as any made at this day. Of this the following lines will afford us an example.

‡ Like as the dewe deſcendeth on the roſe
With ſylver drops.

---

* Confeſſio Amantis. L. viii. p. 187.

† Fall of Princes. Fol. 7. a.

‡ From Lydgate's Life of our Lady. See Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry by Mr. Wharton, vol. ii.

Alſo theſe upon the paſſion of our Saviour.

* When he of purple did his baner ſprede
On Calverye abroad upon the rode
To ſave mankynde. ibid.

To theſe may be added the following inſtances from the ſame writer.

Out of the ſlepe of mortal heavineſſe
Awake anon, and look upon the light.

Again:

And he, who made the high and criſtal heven,
The firmament, and alſo every ſphere.

All the lines above quoted have a very modern appearance; yet they were many years prior to the moſt early compoſitions of Rowley.

I mention theſe things to ſhew, that we may often be miſtaken about the date of a writing, when either its excellency or inferiority is made a teſt of its age. A poem muſt not be denied its juſt claim to antiquity, becauſe in many places it maintains ſome portion of harmony. There is not a line in Rowley, which appears more liable to exception, than one, which I have quoted above from the Pylgrimage of the Soul; yet we know that it was printed near three hundred years ago: and may have been compoſed much earlier.

For now ſhall faſt our company encreaſe,
And God with man will make a final peace.

* Ibid.

We

We may likewiſe be deceived by familiarity of expreſſion: and when we read of a perſon's turning his eyes about to ſee *who is who*, little think, that it is an expreſſion of four hundred years ſtanding.

It is often aſked, *if theſe poems are genuine; how came they to be ſo long ſecreted from the world?* It may not perhaps be eaſy to give a determinate anſwer. But what does this amount to? The only rational inquiry to be made is, whether they were really ſecreted. Of this circumſtance, I think, we may be aſſured. Indeed there would never have been the leaſt doubt concerning the external evidence, had it not been for a ſuppoſed failure in the internal. We may not be able to account any more for theſe Mſſ. being ſo long neglected, than for thoſe of Heſychius, Phædrus and Velleius Paterculus, having been in the ſame ſituation. Urns with ancient coins have been loſt to the world for many centuries. People ſeldom aſk, why they lay ſo long hid: it is ſufficient, that they are at laſt diſcovered. And after all, what a number of manuſcripts are there of the ſame nature in the Bodleian, and other libraries; alſo in the Britiſh Muſeum, which lie in a like ſtate of oblivion, and are at this day utterly diſregarded. It is to be obſerved, that there are ſtrong marks of party in theſe poems.

In

In one of the eclogues Elinoure ſays to Juga,

O, maie ne ſanguen ſteine the whyte roſe peyncte.
p. 19. v. 10.

In other parts a contrary attachment is diſcernable. Now it is very poſſible, when the houſe of Lancaſter regained the throne, in the perſon of Henry the Seventh, who had married the heireſs of the houſe of York, that all writings, which had ſhewn a diſaffection to either ſide, were, for prudential reaſons, ſuppreſſed. And as the writings in queſtion were incloſed in a cheſt, and placed in an unfrequented tower, it might have been a long time before they were diſcovered; and ſtill longer before they were examined and regarded. This indeed ſeems to have been the fact: and though many of the Mſſ. may have been loſt, there are ſufficient ſtill remaining to atteſt this truth, that Mſſ. were depoſited, and preſerved in this manner. For a number of parchments ſtill exiſt, and their being thus found is atteſted by evidence paſt contradiction.

I have mentioned, that there are ſtrong marks of party in theſe poems. In conſequence of this there are ſeveral delicate touches upon the times; many refined ſtrokes and alluſions: which, as I have before obſerved, could not have proceeded from the boy Chatterton. The excellent

Ballad

Ballad upon Charity is in great meaſure a ſatire upon a perſon, who was an Abbot of a rich convent, and a Lancaſtrian. There are in this poem many curious references to the manners of the age; there is likewiſe much pointed invective: which could never have come but from a perſon, who was a contemporary; from one, who both ſaw, and felt, what he deſcribed; and who wrote from the keenneſs of party. The Storie of William Canynge is written too much from the heart to be a forgery: ſo likewiſe is that of Sir Charles Bawdin. The author of this was certainly of the Lancaſtrian party: from whence I am confirmed in my opinion, that theſe poems are not all by the ſame hand. The language of this poem ſeems to have been by ſomebody altered, and put into a modern dreſs: but the groundwork is undoubtedly ancient.

I cannot conclude without mentioning a difficulty, which has ariſen from ſome verſes, ſaid to have been ſent to Rowley by John Lydgate: and which, on that account, are thought to be ſpurious. For Lydgate is ſuppoſed to have died too early for any ſuch correſpondence. Bale however ſays, that he flouriſhed about the year 1440; and it is certain, that he lived ſome years afterwards. From hence we may learn, that the impoſſibility

bility of theſe two perſons being acquainted is not juſtly determined. But let us conſider the objection in another light. The verſes are ſaid to have been ſent by John Lydgate, prieſt in London. Why muſt we take for granted, that this John Lydgate, prieſt of London, was the ſame as John Lydgate, who was a Benedictine Monk of Bury. Many have been ſearching into Lydgate's works of Bury, to find out the name of Rowley. They might juſt as well have looked into Fryar Bacon's Optics for the name of Lord Verulam. A prieſt of London could not be a monk of Bury: wherefore we may both from title and ſituation be aſſured, that notwithſtanding the ſimilarity of names they were two different perſons.

It is often aſked, how it came about, that Rowley is not mentioned by Bale. To this I can give no other anſwer, than that he was a recluſe, and remote from the capital. I can give no reaſon, why Lucretius is not mentioned by Horace: nor for many omiſſions of the like nature. If Rowley is not mentioned by Bale, or by Lydgate, as ſome have ſurmiſed, that he ſhould have been; Lydgate himſelf is not taken notice of by * Leland: which is far more extraordinary. For his works were in print in the time of

* Leland de Scriptoribus Britannicis.

Leland: and it was the very purpoſe of that author to give an account of the celebrated Engliſh writers. I beg to know what perſon of the times has once mentioned Robert of Brunne, or Robert of Glouceſter? Both Bale and Leland have paſſed them by unnoticed. Why then ſhould we be ſurpriſed, if they have omitted Rowley.

There is a circumſtance more extraordinary to be obſerved concerning Leland. He was a firſt-rate antiquary; and went over great part of England to make his obſervations upon cathedrals, abbies, priories, and other ancient buildings: and to commemorate the perſons, by whom they were built or endowed. He dwells long upon Briſtol, and ſpeaks of its ſtreets, bridges, churches, &c. He particularly mentions Redclyff Church: and ſtyles it, * Redcliffe, longe pulcherrima omnium Eccleſia. Yet in this recital he never makes the leaſt mention of Canynge, who was the great benefactor of Briſtol; and the conſtructor of this very church.

* Vol. vii. p. 85. He occurs in a different place as Dean of Weſtbury.

SOME

SOME OBSERVATIONS

Upon the real Poems of CHATTERTON, to which he put his Name: of his Miſtakes: alſo of his Parts and Attainments, &c. &c.

ALSO,

OBSERVATIONS

Upon the Notion of ſome Third Perſon being the Author.

I HAVE proceeded upon different grounds in order to ſhew, that the poems of Rowley are genuine: and that the perſon, to whom they have been generally attributed, could not have been the author. It has been my buſineſs to produce many ancient terms, which he did not underſtand: many remote and curious hiſtories, with which he could not have been acquainted. Some have

compared theſe poems with other productions of former times; and have thought, that they were too ſmooth and too correct for the time to which they have been adjudged. I have endeavoured to take off that objection, by affording many inſtances of ancient poetry, which have as modern a caſt: and which would be equally liable to theſe exceptions, if we were to proceed in this precarious and unjuſt mode of reaſoning. After all, the ſureſt way of judging, whether they were the compoſitions of this young man, would be to compare them with thoſe, which he acknowledged as his own. Several of theſe poems in diſpute were ſeen, when he was between fifteen and ſixteen; others ſomewhat later. Let us compare them with thoſe which were made in his eighteenth year, and towards the cloſe of his ſeventeenth; to which we know, that he ſubſcribed his name, and affixed the date: ſo that there can be no doubt about the true author, nor of the time of their publication. Two years make a great difference at this period of life. The mind improves in vigour and underſtanding, as much as the body does in ſtature and ſtrength: and this is viſible in all its operations. Let us then make an eſtimate of theſe different productions; and ſee, whether the latter have that ſuperiority over the former, which muſt naturally

naturally be expected from the time of life, in which they were produced. If they were both by the ſame hand, as has been ſurmiſed, and maintained; the leaſt that we can promiſe ourſelves from his lateſt compoſitions muſt be, an equal degree of knowledge, the like marks of deep reading, and inveſtigation, the ſame preciſion and accuracy, together with the true poetical fire, which had been exhibited before. Indeed we have a right to expect far more: but we will be content with this, if upon examination ſuch an uniformity can be found.

In the collection printed in the name of * Chatterton, and attributed to him, as the undoubted author, there are to be found ſome compoſitions, which were produced in his ſeventeenth year; but the greater part in his eighteenth, after he was arrived in London. The moſt early of theſe are ſome poems, written in imitation of Oſſian; which are pretended to have been of Saxon original. Theſe are void of all propriety and order: and conſiſt of the moſt wild and extravagant conceptions, attended with an unnatural pomp of words. They conſiſt of ſimilitudes without likeneſs; and compariſons void of all analogy. And throughout the whole, we

* Miſcellanies in proſe and verſe, by Thomas Chatterton. London, 1778.

are not ſo much informed of what was done, as when and how it was performed: ſo that every trifling circumſtance is ſet off with a mock repreſentation. One of theſe poems is called Ethelgar, another Kenrick, another Cerdick; and a fourth Godred Crovan. They are all in the ſame ſtile; the nature of which the reader will perceive from the following ſample. The lines are taken from the beginning of the poem, called Kenrick.

" When winter yelled through the leafleſs " grove, when the black waves rode over the " roaring winds, and the dark-brown clouds " hid the face of the ſun; when the ſilver " brook ſtood ſtill, and ſnow environed the " top of the lofty mountain; when the " flowrets appeared not in the blaſted fields, " and the boughs of the leafleſs trees beat " with the loads of ice: when the howling " of the wolf affrighted the darkly glimmer- " ing light of the weſtern ſky: Kenrick, " terrible as the tempeſt, young as the ſnake " of the valley, ſtrong as the mountain of " the ſlain, his armour ſhining like the ſtars " in a dark night when the moon is veiled " in ſable, and the blaſting winds howl over " the wide plain; his ſhield like the black " rock, prepared himſelf for battle." p. 11.

* March 1769.

This is the moſt licentious, and the moſt prepoſterous way of writing, that ever was introduced: where there is nothing ſo plain but muſt have its parallel: and where the main object is loſt in illuſtration. Theſe compariſons are often ſo wild and extravagant, as to be too ridiculous to merit animadverſion. Thus he ſpeaks of *ſheep following the ſhepherd, as the beams of light attend upon the morning.* In another place he deſcribes the wolf, that *fled, like a falling meteor, to the war.* Sometimes, we have our expectations ſuſpended by a pompous addreſs; and when we come to the ultimate, we are totally diſappointed. Something of this ſort we experience in the exhortation of Kenrick to his ſoldiers: *Ye, Saxons, who live in the air, and glide over the ſtars,—act like your ſelves.* p. 13. There is a remarkable inſtance to the ſame purpoſe in one of his eclogues, where there is a ſolemn invocation for a perſon to attend to a weighty truth: which at laſt turns out nothing at all.

> He ſpoke, as evening thunders burſting near,
> His horrid accents broke upon the ear.
> Attend, Abraddas, with your ſacred prieſt:
> This day the ſun is *riſing in the eaſt*,
> The ſun, which ſhall illumine all the earth—&c.
> p. 62.

It may appear an invidious taſk, and it is certainly no pleaſing one, to decry the com-

poſitions of an unfortunate young man; and expoſe his miſtakes to the world: but as there are perſons, who rank his poems with thoſe of Rowley, and think them equally excellent; we have no way to take off this prejudice, but by ſhewing in this manner their great inferiority. Though he was pleaſed to ſay of himſelf, that *he had read more than Magliabecchi:* yet his reading was certainly ſcanty; and confined in great meaſure to novels, and magazines, and the traſh of a circulating library. Hence he had got by the help of memory, and a good ear, a flow of words; but not an equal ſhare of judgment and true knowledge. He had heard of the Saxons, and of the Danes: and had a notion, that the arrival of the former preceded that of the latter in this iſland: but at what interval he knew not. Hence a perſon, who is ſuppoſed to be fighting with the Danes, as late as the time of Alfred, is made contemporary with Hengiſt in the fifth century. —" Turn to me, ſon of Lofgar, I am Se-
" gowald of the lake. Haſt thou not heard
" of my fame in battle? When the army of
" Hengiſt panted on the dark-brown heath,
" I cheared them to the war." p. 54. This is repreſented as after the death of Hubba, conſequently four hundred years and more from the invaſion of Hengiſt. In all theſe

compoſitions

compoſitions we may perceive, that he continually had Rowley in his view, and thoſe poems, with which he was firſt acquainted. The ſame names occur, ſuch as Ælla, Tynian, Saint Cuthbert, and St. Cuthbert's ſhrine: the ſame terms — the anlace, the ſacred oak, the tall elm: alſo the ſame alluſions, and compariſons; but ſadly miſapplied. He gives the names of Saxons to Britons; and makes Edgar fight with Hengiſt. p. 35.

The next compoſitions are two African Eclogues, publiſhed ſome months after thoſe above, in the eighteenth and laſt year of his life. I am ſorry, that I am obliged to ſay, that theſe, like the former, contain a maſs of crude and indigeſted materials: and are void of all propriety and order. Theſe are written in rhyme, and confined to meaſure; ſo that in this reſpect they differ from thoſe before ſpoken of, in which there was a total deficiency of all rythm and harmony. The ſcene is laid upon the coaſt of Calabar; of which part of the world he ſeems to be very ignorant: not being acquainted with the names of the principal places, with the cuſtoms and religion of the natives, nor with the produce of the country. Hence he has ſubſtituted a number of ſtrange appellations, which his fancy in its wantonneſs ſuggeſted.

He ſpeaks of ſpicy lawns, and ſweet reeds: and has introduced a river Togla and Toddida: and, what is more extraordinary, a Tiber; on whoſe banks

—— The ſcarlet Jeſſamines bloom,
And purple aloes ſhed a rich perfume.

This African Tiber is ſaid to run through the deſerts of Arabia.

—— Tiber, whoſe waters glide
In ſlow meanders down to Gaigra's ſide;
And circling all the horrid mountain round,
Ruſhes impetuous to the deep profound, &c. &c.
* * * * * *
Till born upon the pinions of the air,
Through the rent earth the burſting waves appear.
Fiercely propelled the whiten'd billows riſe,
Break from the cavern, and aſcend the ſkies:
Then loſt and conquered by ſuperiour force,
Through hot Arabia *holds* its rapid courſe. p. 61.

He mentions more than once the ſacred oak, and myſtic trees: as if the rites of the Druids were to be found upon the coaſt of Guinea.

Like the loud eddies of Toddida's ſea,
The warriours circle the *myſterious tree.* p. 58.
The flying terrours of the war advance,
And round the *ſacred oak* repeat the dance. p. 57.
Swift from the branches of the *holy oak*
Horror, confuſion, fear and torment broke. p. 62.

Speaking of a Negro woman he ſays,

Black was her face ——

Which

Which is ſurely an unneceſſary truth: but in the wantonneſs of fancy he ſoon forgets himſelf, and mentions another, who is diſtinguiſhed for the redneſs of her lips.

> He ſaw and ſcattered poiſon in her eyes:
> From limb to limb in varied forms he flies;
> Dwelt on her crimſon lip. p. 65.

He ſpeaks of a fleet of an Ynca called Rhadal, p. 59. But when was the name of Ynca heard upon the coaſt of Calabar? For want of ſubject matter, he is often obliged to imitate his former tranſcripts; and to indulge himſelf in ſimily and compariſon. Theſe ſimilies are without number; and at the ſame time ill-choſen, and attended with little conformity. Such is that which follows.

> Strong was the paſſion of the ſon of Nair:
> Strong as the tempeſt of *the evening air*.

But the ſtrength of ſuch a tempeſt muſt be attended with no great violence: for the *evening air* is generally the moſt mild of any.

But the reader will be beſt able to form a true idea of theſe compoſitions, by having a ſample at large. The poet is ſpeaking of an unknown Deity, whom he ſtiles Chalma.

> Chalma, whoſe excellence is known from far,
> From Lupa's rocky hill to Calabar.
> The guardian God of Afric and the iſles,
> Where Nature in her ſtrongeſt vigour ſmiles.

Where the blue bloſſom of the forky thorn
Bends with the nectar of the opening morn.
Where ginger's aromatic matted root
Creep through the mead and up the mountains *ſhoot*.
Three times the virgin ſwimming on the breeze
Danced in the ſhadow of the myſtic trees:
Where like a dark cloud ſpreading to the view,
The firſt-born ſons of war and blood purſue.
Swift as the elk they pour along the plain,
Swift as the flying clouds diſtilling rain.
Swift as the boundings of the youthful roe,
They courſe around, and lengthen as they go.
Like the long chain of rocks, whoſe ſummits riſe
Far in the ſacred regions of the ſkies;
Upon whoſe top the blackning tempeſt lours,
Whilſt down its ſide the guſhing torrent pours.
Like the long cliffy mountains, which extend,
From Lorbar's cave, to where the nations end.
Which ſink in darkneſs, thick'ning and obſcure,
Impenetrable, myſtic, and impure—&c. p. 57.

The hiſtory of this young man, as a compoſer, ſeems to be this. He had a good ear, and an excellent capacity: by which means, when he had an opportunity of reading, he ſoon got a ſtore of language; and wrote with great fluency of expreſſion. It was his misfortune not to meet with the helps, which he merited, in order to his being improved in ſcience. Hence he never arrived at a juſt taſte in poetry: and with the ſublime, which he affected, he was totally unacquainted. However, though he failed in theſe points, yet upon common ſubjects, where nothing was requiſite, but an eaſy and natural flow of words,

words, he wrote many things, which were by no means contemptible. One ode in particular muſt be reckoned for the time, when it was compoſed, a laudable performance. It is inſcribed to Mr. Alcock, a miniature painter at Bath: and appears to have been written very early, when he was but juſt turned of ſixteen. But compoſitions of this nature require no extenſive reading; nor do they contain any extraordinary marks of genius. We find poems in the ſame ſtrain accompliſhed by perſons of little learning; and often by young ladies; who not being engaged in the ſtudy of the dead languages, gain an earlier intimacy with their own. In conſequence of this we have many odes and epiſtles, which for eaſe and harmony are excellent: and they certainly merit our regard; as far as common-place ſentiment, well expreſſed, can recommend them. They many times abound with happy turns, and pointed alluſions: and from the wit and humour, which they diſplay, cannot fail of being agreeable. But, as I before ſaid, for the framing of ſuch compoſitions, there is no need of any extraordinary parts; nor for any depth of erudition. A perſon may write volumes in this ſtile and taſte, and never be a Rowley.

Allowing therefore to this young man all the parts, which his moſt ſanguine friends would

would aſcribe to him; yet thoſe parts had been but poorly cultivated; and he had little or no ſhare of true learning. In none of the compoſitions publiſhed as his own, is there any diſplay of reading: no ſign of his having been acquainted with the abſtruſer parts of hiſtory; or with any hiſtory whatever. Yet ſomething of this ſort muſt have appeared, had he been the author of the poems in diſpute. If he had obtained any acquaintance with the hiſtorians, either ancient, or modern, he muſt have had ſome little knowledge in Geography; but how very deficient he was in that ſcience, may be known from his making the Tiber a river in Arabia. And this deficiency will appear more glaring, if we conſider the means, by which he was probably led to this miſtake. He intimates in ſome verſes to a perſon at Briſtol, that he had views of going abroad, and as we may infer, in the ſervice of the African Company.

Before I ſeek the dreary ſhore,
Where Gambia's rapid billows roar, &c.
* * * * * *
Now to the regions, where the ſun
Does his hot courſe of glory run,
And parches up the ground,
Where o'er the burning cleaving plains
A long * external dog-ſtar reigns,
And ſplendour flames around,
There will I go — p. 85.

* A miſtake, I ſuppoſe, for eternal.

This,

This, I imagine, put it into his head to attempt two African eclogues. To obtain a little knowledge of the country, he ſeems to have applied to ſome bookſeller for a map. Now it is to be obſerved, that the maps, which exhibit the great portions of the earth, are not limited to the boundaries of thoſe grand diviſions; but are generally extended farther, in order to ſhew how they are connected, and what countries lie immediately beyond them. Thus a map of Europe generally takes in Natolia, and part of Tartary and Siberia. And a map of Africa comprehends often in the ſame ſheet part of Aſia; particularly Arabia and Syria, as far as the Tigris. This ſeems to have been ill underſtood by the author of the Eclogues: who thought, that all in the ſame ſheet was of the ſame diviſion. He in conſequence of it took the Tigris, which he undoubtedly read Tibris, for an African river: and as he perceived, that it watered the upper provinces of Arabia; he has adjudged both Arabia and the Tiber to Africa. There is no accounting for his ſtrange miſconceptions, but upon theſe grounds. At all rates we may be aſſured, that a perſon, who was guilty of ſuch puerile miſtakes, could have no great pretence to learning. There are ſeveral places alluded to, whoſe names he did not accurately retain:

and

and with whoſe hiſtory he ſeems to have been quite unacquainted. Such is the great deſert of Zaira; the country of the Gaga; the country of the Binni; and Cape Lopo, or Lopez Gonſalvo. Traces of theſe we find in Zira, and its palaces, the ſteep cliff of Gaigra, Lupa's rocky hill, Lobar's cave, and the people of Banny. One would imagine, that he took the names vivâ voce from the mouth of a foreigner, without any regard to orthography: and wrote them down as they appeared in ſound from his pronunciation.

It is to be obſerved, that theſe Eclogues were compoſed, the one May 2d, 1770: the other June 12th the ſame year, and not long before his death; which was upon the 24th of Auguſt following. From theſe, which he compoſed in his eighteenth year, we may form a judgment of his abilities, when he was but fifteen and ſixteen. The inference is too plain to need any explanation.

It is therefore in vain to talk of parts, and genius. The greateſt capacity, that was ever conferred by nature, amounts to little; when left to itſelf, and debarred the means of improvement. Mr. Gray in his admirable poem on a Church-yard, takes notice of the rude forefathers of the hamlet: many of whom in a proper ſphere might have made a figure in the world.

Perhaps

Perhaps in this neglected ſpot is laid
Some heart once pregnant with celeſtial fire:
Hands, that the reins of empire might have ſway'd:
Or wak'd to extacy the breathing lyre—&c. &c.

But what were they in reality? Hewers of wood, and drawers of water: hinds and peaſants, who earned their bread in the ſweat of their brow. Among the ideal rulers, legiſlators, and the divine bards, here ſuppoſed, one half could not write their names. But it may be ſaid, that Chatterton was far ſuperior to theſe: he was a prodigy for parts; and had certainly obtained a great inſight into books, and a wonderful fund of knowledge. This, I know has been urged: but upon what is this opinion founded? It has ariſen from this. People have taken it for granted, that he muſt have been the author of the poems ſtiled Rowley's: and from thence they infer, that he was a perſon of great learning. And in truth ſo he muſt have been; if thoſe poems were his compoſition. But he uniformly tells us, that they were by another hand: and has prefixed to them the name of that perſon. I have from the real and indiſputable compoſitions of Chatterton endeavoured to ſhew, that he had neither the parts nor learning requiſite towards the executing, what has been thus imputed to him. He tells us in one of his letters, that he knew but one language: and all the

the means of knowledge, which his moſt ſanguine friends can deviſe for him, amount only to this, that he either borrowed, or hired, ſome books at his leiſure hours. The whole of the intelligence, which he gained, was from theſe ſlender helps; without any perſon to adviſe or aſſiſt him. But the poems of Rowley abound with much abſtruſe learning: and with continual references to ancient hiſtory: and they are compoſed in a language replete with obſolete terms, which are very difficult to be explained. It requires a great inſight into antiquity to find out the circumſtances alluded to; and even to underſtand the words. A perſon muſt not be a novice, who undertakes this: and at the ſame time he muſt have every help at hand, that can be adminiſtered. But Chatterton unfortunately had not theſe advantages. If we ſuppoſe him to have had the knowledge here ſpoken of, by what helps did he obtain it? Learning, he had none. To inſpiration he did not pretend: ſo that the only reſource that can be found out in his favour, is a circulating library. But this muſt have been a poor help towards theſe wonderful acquiſitions. He therefore never had the knowledge, of which ſome have thought him to have been poſſeſſed. But as mere aſſertions unſupported can have but little weight, the beſt

beſt way is to let him again ſpeak for himſelf; that from his own evidence his attainments may be further known. I have given ſome inſtances of his deficiency in his poetical tracts: It may be worth while to ſee, if he ſhews any greater marks of either genius or learning in proſe.

In thoſe miſcellanies, which are reputed to have been without controverſy his compoſition, there is one treatiſe upon ſculpture and its origin. This was one of his lateſt performances, after he had been ſettled in town: and if he were a perſon of ſuch ſuperior ſenſe and learning, we ſhould I think meet with ſome traces of it here. But upon caſting my eye over it, I can find little elſe, but ſome common-place thoughts, and looſe opinions; and theſe backed by aſſertions void of all authority. Theſe ſhew how inadequate he was to the ſubject, which he had undertaken. He not only wants preciſion; but his language is very faulty: and it is plain that he was not well grounded in the firſt principles of grammar. It will be unneceſſary as well as tedious to lay the whole before the reader: I will therefore produce ſome extracts for his obſervation: and bring them, as they ſtand in ſucceſſion.

The

The Origin, Nature, and Design of Sculpture.

" 1. Sculpture is an art, which by design " and solid matter imitates the palpable ob- " jects of nature. It is difficult to ascer- " tain the epocha of its origin: it is lost in " the most remote antiquity.

" 2. The arts of imitation in general, as " painting, architecture, sculpture, &c. were " the first invented.

" 3. Sculptors began to work upon clay " and wax, which are more flexible, and " more pliable than wood or stone.

" 4. The nations, amongst which this " fine art was in the highest honour, were " the Ægyptians; those people so celebrated " by the monuments of their gratitude to- " wards the memory of the kings their be- " nefactors. It was to perpetuate their " names, that they erected in the earliest " ages the two Colossean statues of Mœrus " and the queen his spouse.

" 5. The Ægyptian sculptors excelled all " others in exactness of proportion, &c.

" 6. The Greeks subdued by the Romans " degenerated insensibly: and the arts va- " nished with their freedom.

" 7. Sculpture

" 7. Sculpture was an exotic which ne-
" ver could thrive in victorious Rome: its
" tranſient glory was eclipſed by the other
" arts in the reign of Auguſtus; it declined
" under Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius;
" and re-appeared with an enormous mag-
" nitude under Nero, &c.

" 8. The ſculptors gave the name of a
" ſtatue to a figure in emboſſed work, that
" ſtands by itſelf in wood, ſtone, marble,
" or metal, of perſons conſpicuous by their
" birth, their rank, or their merit, &c. &c.

" 9. The third ſpecies of ſtatues was de-
" ſigned for kings and emperors: they were
" taller than men commonly are; and thoſe
" that perſonated heroes were larger in pro-
" portion.

" 10. As for the coloſſean ſtatues, they
" repreſented gods, &c.

" 11. An equeſtrian ſtatue exhibits a man
" on horſeback; as the ſtatue of Charles the
" Firſt at Charing Croſs, &c.

" 12. A Greek ſtatue is naked and an-
" tique; thus called, becauſe the Greeks
" diſplayed in that manner the gods, the he-
" roes, and the athlets of the Olympic games.

" 13. A mauſoleum is a pompous funeral
" monument, decorated with ſculpture and
" architecture, &c. It derives its etymology
" from the magnificent tomb, which Queen

" Artemiſa cauſed to be erected for Mauſo-
" lus, &c." See Miſcel. in proſe and verſe, p. 142, 3, 4, 5, 6. This is all, that I ſhall quote, referring the reader to the Treatiſe itſelf, if he chooſes to ſee more.

The young man, having reſolved to write upon the ſubject above, ſeems to have had recourſe to particular Dictionaries, in which he peruſed the articles *Sculpture* and *Statue*. This was done at ſome bookſeller's ſhop: from whence he carried off all the intelligence, that his memory would bear; and ſupplied what was wanting from his own imagination. Hence he ſpeaks of ſculpture and painting as the firſt arts, which were introduced: not conſidering, that they depend upon many prior inventions, and could not ſubſiſt without them. Virgil, after ſeveral previous diſcoveries, adds,

> Tum ferri rigor, atque argutæ lamina ſerræ,
> (Nam primi cuneis ſcindebant fiſſile lignum)
> Tum variæ venere artes.
>
> Virg. Georg. l. i. v. 143.

He ſpeaks of the Egyptians being famous for the juſt proportion of their ſtatues: and of the *coloſſean* ſtatues of Mocrus and his ſpouſe. But in reſpect to the juſt proportion of theſe ſtatues the very contrary is the truth: which he muſt have known, had he ever had acceſs

to either Pocock or Norden. As to Mocrus and his ſpouſe, no ſuch perſons were ever heard of. I paſs over what is ſaid about the Greeks: and concerning the tranſient glory of ſculpture in the reign of Auguſtus, which *re-appeared with an enormous magnitude under Nero.* He ſays, that ſculptors *gave the name of ſtatue to a figure in emboſſed work of perſons conſpicuous by their birth, their rank, or their merit:* which plainly ſhews, that he did not know the meaning of the term *emboſſed:* and he ſeems to make the nature of a ſtatue depend upon the characters of the perſons repreſented. He again mentions *coloſſean* ſtatues, which he thinks originally were deſigned only for deities: and then informs his readers of an unneceſſary truth, that *an equeſtrian ſtatue exhibits a man on horſeback; as the ſtatue of Charles the Firſt at Charing Croſs.* This definition of an Equeſtrian ſtatue, and the example, with which it is accompanied, is, together with ſeveral other circumſtances, borrowed from the well-known dictionary of Ephraim Chambers: to which he ſeems to have been often * beholden. The laſt thing, of which I ſhall take notice, is his account of *a Grecian*

* See the articles Statue, and Equeſtrian Statue.

ſtatue: which, he ſays, *was naked and antique*: and *thus called, becauſe the Greeks diſplayed in that manner the gods, heroes, and athlets,* &c. Hence it is plain, that he thought an antique ſtatue to have been a particular ſpecies of ſculpture: and denominated from its form, and manner of repreſentation. He had undoubtedly met with prints of gods and goddeſſes; of fauns and ſatyrs; and likewiſe of wreſtlers and gladiators, in various attitudes: and he ſeems to have thought, that they were denominated antique from the geſtures and poſtures, which they exhibited, and from their being ſometimes not cloathed. He was led into this notion by the ſame authority of Chambers, whom he has in this inſtance, as well as in many others, blindly copied. I have many ſuſpicions about the ſtrange perſon Mocrus, who is ſaid to have had a ſtatue raiſed to him by the Egyptians: I am perſuaded, that it was a miſtake for Mœris. Our young author did not know the force and conſtruction of the diphthong œ: whoſe conſtituent letters are ſometimes disjoined. Inſtead of Mœris, or Moeris, he read Mocris; taking the letter e, for c: which Mocris was eaſily changed to Mocrus by the time that he got to his lodging. For, I believe, he was much diſtreſſed for intelligence; and forced to hunt

hunt for it by ſtarts, and at a diſtance, wherever he thought there was an opportunity of obtaining it. For he certainly was put to his ſhifts, having few books of his own: and not being bleſſed with many other advantages, with which people of his zeal for ſcience are often found to be favoured. How much he was diſtreſſed for knowledge, and how boldly he borrowed, or rather purloined, cannot be better known than by the examples which follow.

Chatterton's Maria Friendleſs.

I.

I am reduced to the lot of thoſe unhappy beings from whom many, who melt at the ſight of all other miſery, think it meritorious to withhold relief: one whom the rigour of virtuous indignation dooms to ſuffer without complaint, and periſh without regard; and whom I myſelf have formerly inſulted in the

The Rambler's Miſella. vol. iv. N° 170.

I.

I am one of thoſe beings from whom many, that melt at the ſight of all other miſery, think it meritorious to withhold relief; one whom the rigour of virtuous indignation dooms to ſuffer without complaint, and periſh without regard; and whom I myſelf have formerly inſulted in the pride of reputa-

the pride of reputation, and ſecurity of innocence.

2.

Being of an age in which young women are initiated in company; and as I was to move in a more gen teel ſphere than formerly, I was no longer to be ſupported in my preſent character, but at a conſiderable expence.

3.

I was now completely depreſſed; and though I had ſeen mankind enough to know the neceſſity of outward chearfulneſs, I often withdrew to my chamber to vent my grief, and examine by what means I might eſcape perpetual mortification.

4. By

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2.

Being now at an age in which young women are initiated in company, I was no longer to be ſupported in my former character, but at a conſiderable expence.

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I was now completely depreſſed; and though I had ſeen mankind enough to know the neceſſity of outward chearfulneſs, I often withdrew to my chamber to vent my grief, or turn my condition in my mind, and examine by what means I might eſcape from perpetual mortification.

4. By

4.

By this ſtratagem, which I did not at firſt underſtand, he filled me with additional tenderneſs and gratitude; compelled me to repoſe on him as my only ſupport; and by my ſenſe of his favour, and the deſire of retaining it, diſpoſed me to unlimited complaiſances. At laſt the wretch took advantage of the familiarity, which he enjoyed as my relation, and the ſubmiſſion, which he exacted as my benefactor, to attempt the ruin of an orphan, whom his indulgence had melted, and his authority had ſubdued.

5. In

4.

By this ſtratagem, which I did not then underſtand, he filled me with tenderneſs and gratitude; compelled me to repoſe on him as my only ſupport, and produced a neceſſity of private converſation. — My ſenſe of his favour, and the deſire of retaining it, diſpoſed me to unlimited complaiſance. At laſt the wretch took advantage of the familiarity, which he enjoyed as my relation, and the ſubmiſſion, which he exacted as my benefactor, to complete the ruin of an orphan, whom his own promiſes had made indigent, whom his indulgence had melted, and his authority ſubdued.

 5. In

5.	5.
In the moments of * perturbation—	In the moments of perturbation—

If any perſon after this ſhould inſiſt, that Chatterton had parts, I ſhall not heſitate to allow it, notwithſtanding all that has preceded. But he was void of judgment: and never had proper opportunities for improvement. The beſt inſtance of his taſte is ſhewn in his theft. He has ſtolen largely from Dr. Johnſon, and really with ſome addreſs. But this does not prove him to have been a great genius: much leſs a prodigy of learning. A perſon of very deep and extenſive knowledge has formed a very different opinion concerning this young man. He ſpeaks of him as † *a ſingular inſtance of a prematurity of abilities; and that he had acquired a ſtore of general information far exceeding his years: and that he poſſeſſed a comprehenſion of mind, and activity of underſtanding, which predominated over his ſituations in life, and his opportunities of inſtruction.* I am fully ſenſible

* For the diſcovery of this plagiariſm I am indebted to a learned and curious young gentleman at Cambridge.

† Hiſt. of Eng. Poetry by the Rev. Mr. Warton. Emendations and Additions to p. 164. vol. ii.

of

of every thing, which is due to a perſon of Mr. Warton's character; to whom the world is ſo much indebted. But after all, I know not how to ſubſcribe to his opinion; and, I hope, that he will forgive me, if I think that he has been rather too haſty in his determination. I muſt confeſs that I ſee nothing of this prematurity of abilities in Chatterton; nor of the ſtore of information, which ſo far exceeded his term of life: much leſs that comprehenſion, and that activity of underſtanding, with which he is ſaid to have been gifted. I cannot perceive any traces of theſe wonderful qualities. I believe, there are many clerks and apprentices in town, who by reading plays and magazines, and by frequenting the theatres, get a better knack of writing, than was to be found in Chatterton. His bad ſucceſs in his laſt ſtage of life, ſhews that he did not anſwer the expectations of thoſe, who employed him.

That he was not ſo ſuperior to others, as has been imagined, may be ſeen by comparing one of his compoſitions with another by one of his friends, upon a ſimilar ſubject. That of Chatterton's is ſtiled The Conſuliad, from the beginning of which the following lines are taken.

Of warring ſenators, and battles dire,
Of quails uneaten, Muſe, awake the lyre.

Where

Where C—mb—ll's chimneys overlook the ſquare,
And N—t—n's future proſpects hang in air,
Where counſellors diſpute, and cockers match,
And Caledonian earls in concert ſcratch,
A group of heroes occupied the round,
Long in the rolls of infamy renown'd;
Circling the table all in ſilence ſat,
Now tearing bloody lean, now champing fat,
Now picking ortolans, and chicken ſlain,
To form the whimſies of an a-la-reine.
Now ſtorming caſtles of the neweſt taſte,
And granting articles to forts of paſte.
Now ſwallowing bitter draughts of Pruſſian beer;
Now ſucking tallow of ſalubrious deer.
The god of cabinets and ſenates ſaw
His ſons, like aſſes to one center draw.
Inflated diſcord heard and left her cell
With all the horrors of her native hell.

The verſes which I ſhall bring by way of contraſt with the above, are from a poem called The Conſultation.

The clock ſtruck twelve: the buſy world at reſt:
Laughter, invention, argument, and jeſt,
Were heard no more. Repos'd lay old and young,
Clos'd every eye, and ſilent every tongue.
Sleep in her ſilken bands had all things tied;
All but the few, whom diſappointed pride
Urg'd on to madneſs: ſuch with troubled mind
Nor eaſe could know, nor balmy ſleep could find.
Perplex'd with thought profound here Party lay,
Told the dull hours, and languiſh'd for the day.
Reſtleſs, and pale, all comfort ſhe defied,
Whilſt wild Deſpair ſat weeping by her ſide.

A very

A very learned * friend, to whom I am obliged for the communication of theſe lines, accompanied them with the following words: "What I ſend is deſigned as a ſpecimen of the difference of abilities between Chatterton, and one of his intimate friends, who was the author of the lines quoted from the poem called The Conſultation. He was nearly of the ſame age, and, in my opinion, ſuperior to Chatterton, though he has been leſs noticed."

Thus much I have thought proper to ſay in reſpect to the parts and attainments of this unfortunate young man. If I have been obliged in the courſe of my arguments to diſcloſe ſome unfavourable truths; I hope it will be forgiven me: as I think, that there are ways and means by which I can make amends.

One circumſtance in the proceſs of this affair, and that of no ſmall moment, ſhould always be mentioned in his favour; I mean his inviolable attachment to the truth. He uniformly inſiſted, that the poems in diſpute were not his own. No perſuaſion, no force, no emolument, could oblige him, though in a ſtate of indigence, to take the honour of them to himſelf. He would not avail himſelf of praiſe, to which, he knew, he had no claim. Had he acted the contrary part, though he

* Dr. Glynn,

might

might have been at laſt detected, yet the immediate advantages muſt have been great. But neceſſitous as he was and humbled, he would not accept of bread upon thoſe terms. His ſpirit was above it.

After all that has been ſaid, it will be very unneceſſary to obviate every ſuſpicion and cavil, with which ſuch controverſies are attended. Yet it may be worth while to ſpeak to one objection; which, though of no great weight, yet has been very popular, and relates to the ſuppoſed ſecrecy, with which this tranſaction was carried on. *How came the tranſcriber to be ſo cautious, that nobody ever ſaw him in the act of copying theſe poems, or had a view of the Mſſ. themſelves?* This is a queſtion, which has been often put; and is eaſily anſwered. That the affair was carried on with caution, is very certain. For when Chatterton began to examine the Mſſ. he had ſufficient ſagacity to know, that they were of conſequence. And though they had lain for near three centuries neglected, yet he was ſenſible, that neither he nor his father had any right to remove them: nor had he any plea or title to keep them in his poſſeſſion. This made him cautious of ſhewing them, for fear of their being demanded of him. In conſequence of this, he copied them at his maſter's office; which was very private, and

at

at ſome diſtance from the houſe. However, both Mr. Barret, and Mr. Catcot, ſaw ſome of them, which they procured for themſelves from Chatterton: and they were alſo ſeen by other people; who have given a poſitive atteſtation to the fact. More perſons than one ſaw him in the act of copying, as will be ſhewn. It may be farther aſked, *What became of thoſe Mſſ. which remained in his hands?* for many muſt have remained, if we may judge by the tranſcripts. The caſe I apprehend to be this: When he found, after all that he had ſaid, that the poems were treated as forgeries, and that he was himſelf traduced as a cheat, his pride was neceſſarily affected: and we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that he acted by theſe writings, as he is ſaid at the cloſe of his life to have done by his own: he demoliſhed them utterly; as thinking that the world did not deſerve them. He ſeems to have been greatly irritated at his veracity being diſputed. For he was ſo far from taking the merit of theſe poems to himſelf, that he was continually giving teſtimony, that they were by another hand; and in doing this, he was ſo zealous for the truth to his own diſadvantage, that he could never forgive thoſe who controverted his aſſertions. Thus in a treatiſe, where he has ſubſcribed himſelf

ſelf by the title of Harry Wildfire, he falls very cruelly upon an honourable perſon, whoſe rank and character deſerved far greater reſpect. This gentleman had ſuppoſed the poems in queſtion to be ſpurious; which was ſufficient to make him incur the invective of Chatterton. And the ſame fate attended every one, who controverted this truth. Hence towards the middle of the ſame treatiſe, there is a ſarcaſtical reference to this purpoſe; and the author, ſpeaking of ſome abſurd notion, ſays—*Should any critic aſſert, that it is impoſſible ſuch an imagination ſhould enter any perſon's head, his aſſertion ſhall ſtand uncontradicted by me: as I know by woeful experience, that when an author reſolves to think himſelf in the right, it is more than human argument can do, to convince him he is in the wrong.* p. 299.

Some to avoid the perplexity, with which the affair ſeemed to be attended, have given a new turn to the matter in debate: and imagined, that theſe poems were neither the compoſition of Rowley, nor of Chatterton, but of ſome third perſon. This is an expedient the moſt ſtrange that could ever be conceived; and attended with the greateſt inconſiſtency. Before there was an alternative: and if theſe writings could not be fairly adjudged to one of the two perſons, they neceſſarily

ceſſarily fell to the lot of the other. By theſe means there was a fair chance of coming to a determination. But we in this caſe are withdrawn from the light, of which before we had ſome ſhare; and reduced to a ſtate of darkneſs, in order that we may ſee more clearly. Hitherto there were two perſons, whoſe hiſtory was in ſome degree certified to us; and we had ſome ſure footing, upon which we might proceed. But we are now referred to an ideal perſon: one who was never ſeen, nor any way known: concerning whom there is no tradition; nor the leaſt pretence to any evidence. How can perſons of any reaſon ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced by ſuch an illuſion? Beſides, what do we get by ſuch a ſuppoſition? If there were any difficulties before, they recur in this caſe with far more force, and in greater numbers. Chatterton prefixed the name of Rowley to the poems: He gave alſo an account how they were firſt found; and acknowledged, that he was not the author. Thoſe, who are not ſatisfied with this evidence, aſk, How theſe writings came to be ſo long ſecreted? If Chatterton copied them; who ſaw him take the copies? If they were from parchments; where are thoſe parchments? Why were they ever concealed? How came Rowley himſelf not to be better known?

known? When was he born? At what time did he die? And by whom of his contemporaries is he mentioned? Now I do not ſee how we get rid of any one of theſe difficulties by ſubſtituting for a perſon, little known, another who is totally unknown. In reſpect to Rowley, and his tranſcriber, ſome light may be obtained: and the queſtions are not unanſwerable. But upon an unknown ſubject, nothing can be ſaid: nor can we give a ſolution to any one of theſe queries. Therefore I do not ſee, what we get by thus contending in the dark. Will not the ſame queſtions be aſked, Why the poems were ſo long hid? and, Why the author is no where mentioned? &c. &c. The difficulty in ſome reſpects is as great as before: in others far greater. Beſides, if ſuch a perſon, as is ſuppoſed, had ever exiſted, how came Chatterton, through whoſe hands theſe writings have come to us, not to have put that perſon's name to them? What could poſſibly induce him neither to give the honour of them to the true author, nor to take the merit of them to himſelf? but to aſcribe the whole to a third indifferent perſon, who had no pretenſions to them? The ſurmiſe is of all others the * moſt idle.

* See theſe objections very ſatisfactorily anſwered, in a very ingenious treatiſe, the title of which is—Remarks upon the Eighth Section of Mr. Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, vol. ii.

Let

Let us then return to Chatterton:— he was known to be of an irritable diſpoſition, and very greedy of fame. There are many pieces of his writing, full of invective, becauſe he did not meet with that favour, which he thought his merit deſerved. Yet in reſpect to the compoſitions in diſpute, he uniformly gives the credit of them to Rowley. Many of theſe were ſhewn to people of conſequence in town, when he was ſixteen years old: they were likewiſe ſeen by many of his friends at Briſtol. As he ſurvived nearly two years, how came he never in all that time to retract, and vindicate them for his own? Why did he ſtill perſiſt to his own detriment? And as theſe compoſitions are two-fold, why did he give the honour to Rowley, where they were excellent; and only inſcribe his name to thoſe, which were inferior? for far inferior they moſt certainly are. It is well known, that he did not begin to copy, till he was about fifteen years old: and it is wonderful, that he could tranſcribe ſo much as he is found to have done, in the time afforded him. But if, inſtead of tranſcribing, he be ſuppoſed to have been the compoſer; he muſt have begun earlier: and even his fourteenth year will not afford time ſufficient for the whole, which

was performed. But who can poſſibly think, that a boy from a charity ſchool at that age could have effected, what we know to have been done? Theſe poems are all in a very obſolete dreſs, and relate to ancient hiſtory: and the whole, as we are told, would amount to two volumes. We will therefore take the very lateſt period, at which we can imagine that he began to compoſe: and we will allow it to have been when he was about fifteen. We are then to ſuppoſe him at that age to have ſat down with a fixed reſolution to deceive the whole world; and to have proſecuted the ſcheme all through life to his own prejudice: giving uniformly the credit of his compoſitions to another; and abridging himſelf of every advantage, which might accrue from them. But this is not all. He muſt have had a degree of patience beyond a ſaint: otherwiſe he would not have perſevered, without any encouragement, in this unfrequented track, in which he had idly engaged himſelf. But we have the evidence of thoſe who knew him, and a ſtill ſtronger teſtimony from his own writings, that patience was not one of his virtues. He was cholerick beyond deſcription; and given to the moſt violent ſallies of paſſion: yet in none of theſe did he ever retract, what he had once

once aſſerted; or avail himſelf of any opportunity of claiming theſe poems as his own. Not a hint ever drops from him, that the name of Rowley was ſuppoſititious: or that the honour withheld from the true author was in reality denied to himſelf. So far from it, that in a letter to his mother about three months before his death, he tells her, that *had Rowley been a Londoner inſtead of a Briſtowyan, he ſhould have lived by copying his works.* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Preface, p. ix. This is an atteſtation ſo ſtrong in reſpect to the genuineneſs of the poems, that one would think, nothing could be oppoſed to it. Yet it is ſet aſide as of no validity; becauſe the perſon, from whom it came, is ſuppoſed to have been a cheat. But, as I have ſaid before, nobody goes on in a long proceſs of deceiving, when every ſtep is to his own detriment. He would certainly ſtop ſhort in good time; and make ſome change in a plan, from which no good proceeded. But this young man perſeveres to the laſt: and in a confidential letter to his mother, intimates, as a thing well known to her, that he was himſelf only a tranſcriber. The mother, as well as the ſiſter, is ſtill alive: and they have given their repeated evidence to the ſame purpoſe. They have atteſted, and are ready ſtill

to atteſt, that theſe poems were not of Chatterton's compoſition: and that they know, he only tranſcribed them. If a young lad of little or no principle ſhould find a treaſure of old poetry, and put it off for his own; I ſhould not much wonder. But that ſuch a perſon ſhould compoſe to this amount, and then give the credit of it to another, is paſt my comprehenſion. It is repugnant to nature, and contrary to all experience. Yet this is ſuppoſed to have been done; not in one or two inſtances, but in a long ſeries of compoſition. We ſee a young man, of an eager temper, and zealous of praiſe, out of humour with the world for not paying the regard due to ſome of his inferior productions: and at the ſame time he denies it to himſelf, where he had a better claim; and where the object was of far greater merit. For the poems, which have the name of Rowley affixed to them, are certainly very fine: but thoſe, which we know aſſuredly to have been compoſed by Chatterton, fall very ſhort of ſuch excellence. The beſt of them do not riſe above mediocrity: and many are very low and abject; and cannot be held in any degree of eſtimation. Yet, upon the ſuppoſition, that he was the author of the whole, theſe, of which we are ſpeaking, muſt have

have been compoſed much the lateſt, how ever inferior they may be to the former; ſome of which muſt have been near three years prior, had they been the work of his hands. This too is contrary to reaſon and experience. When we ſpeak of difficulties, with which this ſubject is accompanied, theſe are the real difficulties, to which we ought to attend. Many of the others are imaginary: but theſe are real, and not to be got over upon the notion, that Chatterton was the author of theſe poems. It may be ſaid, *for that very reaſon we ſubſtitute a third perſon.* But when did he live? in the time of Rowley? Then the ſame objections made to Rowley will be brought againſt him. Was it in the time of Chatterton? I do not ſee how we at all rid ourſelves of the perplexity, which we have before experienced. This perſon muſt have acted the ſame part: laboured for years to no purpoſe; and denied himſelf all the honour reſulting from his operations. May we then imagine him to have been in an intermediate ſtate? Still the ſame difficulties will ariſe; and the ſame, or ſimilar queſtions be aſked. At what time did he live? who ſaw him? who heard of him? in what manner were the writings tranſmitted? where were they procured?

who was witneſs to the originals? and who ever ſaw them copied? How came they not to have the author's name? and if they had not the author's name, how came they to be aſcribed to Rowley? The only expedient, that I can think of, to ſolve all difficulties, is to ſuppoſe, that nobody wrote them: this perhaps may ſatisfy all parties. No, it will be ſaid, *that is a ſuppoſition too abſurd to be admitted: it is an inſult to common ſenſe.* In good truth, I ſee very little difference between aſcribing them at once to a non-entity, or giving the merit of them to an ideal perſon, a phantom of our own raiſing. In the mean time, what is become of Chatterton and his wonderful parts; which for a long time were ſo much cried up? Though he was till near fifteen at a low pariſh ſchool, where he had no opportunity of obtaining any portion of real learning; yet he was ſpoken of as a prodigy, for ſagacity and knowledge: and this, to render him adequate to the performance, which was unduly aſcribed to him. But he is at laſt found wanting, and accordingly ſet aſide; his high pretenſions not being ſufficiently determined. And yet I ſhould have thought him preferable to his ſubſtitute, who has no pretenſions at all.

It has been very juſtly ſaid, that there is great pleaſure, as well as propriety, in detecting a fallacy, and expoſing an impoſtor. But the converſe of this is equally true: for there is the ſame propriety, and, I am ſure, ten times more ſatisfaction, in doing juſtice to departed merit; and reſtoring thoſe honours, which have been unduly awarded.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

IT is my hope, that, from the internal evidence afforded, the point, which I took in hand to prove, has been ſufficiently aſcertained. On this account it may ſeem unneceſſary to proceed any farther. But as the external evidence is very copious, and the producing of it will be attended with much curious hiſtory, both in reſpect to the poems, and the perſons concerned; it will not, I believe, be unſatisfactory, if I lay it before the reader.

The poems, and other writings, concerning which there has been ſo much diſpute, were originally collected by Mr. William Canynge, a merchant of Briſtol, who was, as has been before

before mentioned, a perſon of great wealth, and five times mayor of that corporation. The collection appears to have been very large: and great part of it was obtained for him by a very learned perſon, his friend and confeſſor, Thomas Rowley. Theſe manuſcripts were of ſo much value, that Mr. Canynge took great care for their preſervation: and gave directions, that they ſhould be ſecured in a large cheſt, which he ordered to be placed in a ſort of muniment room over the north porch of St. Mary Redcliffe church. This beautiful church he had himſelf built: and to this, as a ſanctuary, he conſigned the valuable depoſit. Of this we have a moſt ſatisfactory proof, from a Latin deed, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Barrett of Briſtol. It is a tolerably fair manuſcript, and of indiſputable antiquity; and not written by a private hand, as many of the manuſcripts are; but in a regular official character. In this deed, made in the eighth year of king Edward the Fourth, there is an account of ſome chantries founded by Mr. Canynge: and among other things is mentioned the principal cheſt; out of which the writings in diſpute were taken. This cheſt is particularly deſcribed, and ſtiled, Ciſta ſerata cum ſex clavibus, *the cheſt locked with ſix keys*. Concerning theſe keys there was an order

order in the deed, that two of them ſhould be intruſted to the miniſter and procurator of the church: two to the mayor, and another of the corporation: and one to each of the churchwardens; who were to act as truſtees. There was to be an annual viſitation; and an entertainment upon the occaſion, with a particular gratuity to each of the viſitors; the expences of which were to be defrayed from certain eſtates appropriated to that purpoſe. There is a farther account, though little known, of Canynge's principal cheſt. We from hence learn, that it was not only a receptacle of writings, but of money; which uſed occaſionally to be depoſited in it. Concerning this we have the following account from Ricaut's *Mayor's Calendar*. It was uſual for the mayor, on the morrow of All Souls Day, to walk to Redcliffe accompanied by the town-clerk: and there to ſit in audit upon William Canynge's chantries, with the vicar, and proctors: which being finiſhed, the town-clerk entered the account in a book there, called *Canynge's Leiger*, and the mayor then received a noble, the town-clerk 20 *d.* the ſword-bearer 8 *d.* and the ſerjeants at mace 16 *d.* Ricaut's Mayor's Calendar, 160. b. This Ricaut was town-clerk of Briſtol in the 18th Edward IVth,

A. D.

A. D. 1479. His Mayor's Calendar is a Mſ. now extant in the chamber of the city, in the town-clerk's office; and, as is believed, no where elſe. I was obliged for this and other curious intelligence to my very excellent and learned friend Mr. Henry Dampier. Concerning this I had a curious extract ſent me by the ſame learned friend from the ancient book in the veſtry of Redcliffe church; in which mention is made of the two chantries founded by Mr. W. Canynge, conformably to the account given in the manuſcript of Mr. Barrett. It is moreover mentioned, that in the year 1475 John Hixton, and ſome other perſon, proctors, paid 37*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* on account of thoſe chantries: and that a ſurplus was ſet apart for Canynge's ſinging-clerks; and placed in *a cofre* called *Mr. Canynge's cofre, lying in the trezor-houſe of the ſaid church, before the mayre.* The muniment room, where Canynge's cheſt now ſtands, is in the deeds called *Domus Theſauraria:* and in the above-mentioned book money is often ſaid to have been delivered into this *cofre.* I am credibly informed, that it has always been difficult to get acceſs to the veſtry-book of Redcliffe church: and that it was utterly unknown to Chatterton. The above accounts from this book

book ſhew the authenticity of Canynge's original deed, which is in the hands of Mr. Barrett. Indeed there can be no doubt of its antiquity.

Concerning the Diſperſion of the Manuſcripts.

The gratuities, paid at the annual viſitation, were eſteemed of ſome conſideration, when they were firſt appointed; but as the wealth of the nation, and of Briſtol in particular, increaſed; they muſt by degrees have become of leſs value; and at laſt ſcarcely worth demanding. And from hence, I imagine, proceeded a neglect in the truſtees: ſo that in proceſs of time this annual viſitation ceaſed; and the writings were totally diſregarded. As far as we can judge, they appear to have been deſerted and unnoticed for a long interval of years: in which interval the ſix keys, with which they were ſecured, ſeem to have been * loſt. All this, I think, may to a degree of certainty be inferred from the

* It was an unlucky precaution, to appoint ſo many keys: for one being loſt rendered the others in a manner uſeleſs.

conſequences.

conſequences. For in the year 1727 there was a notion, that ſome title-deeds were in the cheſt: and thoſe of the veſtry directed, that it ſhould be opened under the inſpection of an attorney; and that the writings, deemed of value, ſhould be removed to the ſouth porch of the church. Accordingly, all the locks were forced; and the cheſt broken open: and as there were other cheſts in the ſame place, if I miſtake not, ſix in number, ſuppoſed to contain ancient writings, they all ſuffered in the ſame manner. The deeds, which related to the church, were in conſequence of this removed; and all the other manuſcripts left at large, without any defence; being totally neglected, as things of no value. Thus were the good purpoſes of this excellent man ruined; and all his precautions rendered ineffectual. From this fatal æra the writings were at the will of any perſon, who thought it worth while to aſk for them. How ſoon the demolition began, is uncertain: nor can it be known, what the original quantity was. Mr. Shiercliffe, a gentleman now living, and well reſpected at Briſtol, viſited the tower in the year 1749: and he told me, that he ſaw the parchments lying there to a conſiderable amount. He at that time practiſed miniature painting; and in

in conſequence of it was acquainted with Mr. Millar, who was then painting a kind of monument for Perrot, the ſexton. This Perrot had been in good buſineſs, but failed by enterprizing too far; and was content to act in that low occupation. He had a deſire to have ſome memorial of him put up, before he died: and Millar was accordingly painting a tablet for him. And having nearly finiſhed it, he deſired Mr. Shiercliffe, who ſtood by, to add ſomething of a freeze or volute: *for your hand*, ſays he, *is ſteadier than mine*. Mr. Shiercliffe at his requeſt performed it: which ſo pleaſed Perrot, that he led him all over the church; and among other things ſhewed him the north porch, where the parchments lay. Mr. Shiercliffe ſaid, that he ſaw them in heaps, ſome quite looſe, ſome tied up: that they were covered with duſt; and looked rumpled, ſtained and torn; and very much marked with age. Perrot ſeemed to intimate to him, that he might, if it were agreeable, take ſome of them. But he did not regard the hint; as he had no taſte for ſuch ancient writings. Yet Perrot had certainly ſome notion that they were of value: for he made uſe of theſe remarkable words, at leaſt words to this purpoſe; that *there were things here, which would one day be better known*; and that *in proper hands they*

might prove a treaſure. Mr. Shiercliffe mentioned, that, as he had occaſion to pull out his knife, he took the opportunity to mark upon the handle the year of the performance: for, ſlight as it was, he at that time was not a little pleaſed with it. This was three years before the birth of Chatterton. He added, that, when the name of Rowley was afterwards brought up, and his poems became the publick talk, it revived in his mind many faint ideas of this tranſaction.

It was about this ſeaſon, that the final devaſtation happened among theſe venerable remains of antiquity. Some of the parchments ſeem to have been carried away before: but now the laſt hand was put to their diſſipation. A woman, as I was informed, acknowledged, that ſhe had carried off a lapfull; which ſhe employed in cleaning ſome of her kitchen furniture. One Morgan, who had been a barber, took away ſome; which, I believe, are ſtill preſerved. Theſe ravages were continually repeated, till the cheſts were exhauſted. But the perſon of all others to be remembered was Mr. Chatterton; the father of the young man, with whom we are ſo much concerned. He was a ſinging-man of the cathedral; and uſed to copy muſick: and at the latter part of his life he was maſter of the free ſchool in Pile-ſtreet. And as his uncle

uncle had been ſexton of St. Mary Redcliffe, and he was acquainted with the people of the veſtry, it gave him acceſs to that church. By theſe means he had permiſſion to take away many of the parchments: and with the aſſiſtance of his boys he carried off at one time, what they call a *maund baſket* full of them; which he put into a cupboard in the ſchool. Many of theſe ſeem to have been frittered away, and employed in vile uſes; as the value of them was not known. About this time the miniſter of the pariſh, Mr. Gibbs, made a preſent to the ſchool of twenty bibles. As the whole number of the boys was forty, theſe bibles were to be given to the twenty out of that number, which ſhould be found to read beſt. Old Mr. Chatterton, in order to preſerve theſe books from being damaged, covered them with ſome of theſe parchments, which he cut to pieces for that purpoſe. When he died, and his widow was obliged to remove, ſhe carried what remained of them to her own houſe.

Under ſuch unfortunate circumſtances were theſe curious manuſcripts after a long interval of neglect brought to light. And when they were at laſt diſcovered, it was in great meaſure to their diſſipation and ruin. Thoſe, which had the good fortune to be preſerved, ſeem to have been for a long time little

known: and the few perſons, who had obtained any knowledge of them, did not entertain the leaſt idea of their value. The firſt time, that their worth ſeems to have been ſuſpected, was in the year 1768, at the opening of the new bridge at Briſtol. There had been a publication in one of the weekly journals printed by Felix Farley; in which was contained an account of the ceremonies obſerved ſome centuries before, at the opening of the old bridge: and this was ſaid to be taken from an ancient manuſcript. The curioſity of many perſons, and particularly of Mr. George Catcott, was by this publication raiſed; and they began to make enquiry from what hand it came. All the intelligence, which the printer could after ſome inveſtigation obtain, amounted to this; that the perſon, who brought the account, was a lad about fifteen or ſixteen years of age; and that his name was Chatterton. It was about this time, in the latter end of the ſame year, that Mr. Catcott, walking with a friend in Redcliffe church, was informed by him of ſeveral ancient pieces of poetry being found there; and that many ſpecimens were in the hands of a young lad, with whom he was acquainted. This perſon proved to be Chatterton; to whom Mr. Catcott deſired to be introduced. He accordingly had an inter-

view; and ſoon after obtained from him, very readily, without any reward, the Briſtowe Tragedy, Rowley's Epitaph upon Mr. Canynge's anceſtor, with ſome other little pieces. In a few days he brought ſome more; among which was the Yellow Roll. Theſe, of which ſome were copies, and ſome originals, were immediately put into Mr. Barrett's hands. During the converſations, which Mr. Catcott had about this time with the young lad, he heard him mention the names of moſt of the poems, ſince printed, as being in his poſſeſſion. He afterwards grew more ſuſpicious, and reſerved: and it was but rarely, and with difficulty, that any more originals could be obtained from him. He became more and more out of humour with the world; and in theſe diſtempered moods ſeems to have made away with many of the manuſcripts. Indeed he confeſſed to Mr. Catcott, that he had deſtroyed ſeveral: and ſome, which he owned to have been in his poſſeſſion, were never afterwards ſeen. One of theſe was the tragedy of the Apoſtate; of which a ſmall part only has been preſerved by Mr. Barrett. The ſubject of it was the apoſtatizing of a perſon from the Chriſtian to the Jewiſh faith. He mentioned, that his father, who was of the choir at Briſtol, and took much pleaſure in muſical compoſi-

tions, had a manuſcript of muſick, compoſed by Rowley. Whether this came into the poſſeſſion of the ſon, is not known. It might poſſibly be the book, out of which he was taught his letters by his mother: for ſhe taught him from an ancient manuſcript of muſick, which had been her huſband's. Upon his death ſhe had been obliged to remove; and on that occaſion carried with her all the manuſcripts, which remained. Theſe were conſigned to a large box, and put under a bed: in which ſituation they were afterwards found by her ſon. As he was the perſon, who diſcovered their merit, and through whoſe hands they have been tranſmitted to us; it will be proper in this place to ſay ſomething of his hiſtory.

Some Account of CHATTERTON, and his Diſcovery of the Manuſcripts.

Though I had received ſufficient evidence from a very particular friend, who had made the moſt fair and impartial enquiries; and upon whoſe repreſentations I knew that I could depend: yet I thought it proper, to prevent every ſcruple, to viſit myſelf the perſons principally concerned with the young man: and to obtain immediate intelligence from

from thoſe, who were perſonally connected with him. From his mother, and from his ſiſter, I learned, that he was born upon the 20th of November 1752, a few months after his father's * death. That he was put to ſchool in Pile-ſtreet to be taught to read, under Mr. Love, who had ſucceeded to his father as maſter. That he was ſent back to his mother, when he was about five years old, as a dull boy, and incapable of inſtruction. His mother upon this took him in hand herſelf: and firſt taught him his letters, as I

* CHATTERTON

Born two or three months after his father's death, —	20 November	1752
Left the ſchool in Pile-ſtreet, when five years old, —	November	1757
Went to Coulſton's ſchool, before he was eight, —	October	1760
Left Coulſton's, and was articled to Mr. Lambert, when fourteen years and ſeven months old, — — —	1 July	1767
He was almoſt ſixteen at the opening of the new bridge, and had been at Mr. Lambert's one year and three months, —	1 October	1768
Soon after known to Mr. Barrett and Catcott, — —	November	1768
Left Mr. Lambert's, when ſeventeen years and five months old,	April	1770
Died unhappily, — —	22 Auguſt	1770

have before mentioned, out of an old manuſcript muſick book; in which the initials were ornamented. She afterwards taught him to read out of a black-letter teſtament: which probably may have laid the foundation of his attachment to manuſcripts and ancient writings. In his eighth year he was ſent to the blue-coat charity ſchool at St. Auguſtine's back, founded by Edward Coulſton, Eſq; where he was kept, as all the boys were, very cloſely and uniformly confined. Here he continued till the firſt of July 1767: and upon the ſame day, that he quitted ſchool, he went to Mr. Lambert's, an attorney of that place; being at that time fourteen years and eight months old. He continued in this ſituation till April 1770: when he went to London, in great hopes of raiſing himſelf in the world by his writing for bookſellers, or for any other perſons, who ſhould employ him. But it appears, that he was ſadly diſappointed; and died in a moſt melancholy manner the ſame year, upon the 22d of Auguſt, aged ſeventeen years and nine months. I aſked Mrs. Chatterton, if ſhe knew any thing of her huſband's bringing the manuſcripts from Redcliffe church; and of his making uſe of part of them to cover bibles. She told me, that ſhe certainly did: and intimated, that he had otherwiſe employed them:

them: and particularly ſhewed me Clark's Hiſtory of the Bible, which ſhe ſaid had been covered in the ſame manner. She likewiſe remembered her ſon's firſt taking notice of the manuſcripts in the box; which was when he had been ſome time at Mr. Lambert's, and was turned of fifteen: alſo of his carrying them away in his pockets.

I had the like information from Mrs. Newton, the ſiſter of Chatterton; to whom I made application for intelligence. She remembered well the manner of her brother's being taught to read, from the old muſick book; and from the teſtament in black letter; being herſelf ſomewhat more than three years older than her brother. She could alſo recollect the whole proceſs of his diſcovering the parchments in the box; and of his joy, and extaſy, when he found out that they were of value. She mentioned likewiſe, that when he could get leave from Mr. Lambert, he uſed to return with eagerneſs, and fill his pockets, in order to carry off what might ſuffice him to copy. After this he would upon another viſit read to her with infinite ſatisfaction what he had tranſcribed; and ſometimes ſhew great indignation at her not having a proper taſte for ſuch compoſitions. One time in particular he uſed very hard words, and left her in great diſpleaſure. He

read them likewiſe to ſeveral of his friends; and finding, that they did not afford that regard, which the poems merited, he often repeated thoſe memorable words, that, *had Rowley been a Londoner, inſtead of a Briſtowan, his (Chatterton's) fortune would have been made.* This is mentioned in a letter to his mother, when he was in London: but his ſiſter remembers his uſing the ſame expreſſion occaſionally, before he went thither. He alludes to it himſelf, in thoſe verſes from Briſtol, with which his will is accompanied. I deſired to know of Mrs. Newton, if he always diſtinguiſhed Rowley's poems from his own; and if he never took the merit of them to himſelf. Her anſwer was, that he always mentioned the poems, which he copied, as Rowley's. He uniformly ſpoke of them as ancient; and treated them with a kind of veneration. He ſometimes read his own compoſitions to her jointly with the others: but ſtill he made a diſtinction: and though he was well ſatisfied with his own verſes, yet he ſeemed to treat thoſe of Rowley with a different regard. I aſked her, if ſhe had ever ſeen him copying any of the manuſcripts, which he had carried away. She ſaid, *never, that ſhe could remember, excepting once: at which time ſhe came upon him unexpectedly, at his maſter's office.* The houſe, it ſeems, was

at

at the diſtance of above half a mile from the office; at the latter of which, on account of privacy, he uſed to tranſcribe. Great difficulties have been unneceſſarily raiſed; upon a ſuppoſition, that nobody ever ſaw this young man with the manuſcripts before him, and in the act of copying. But the fact we find was not true: and of one inſtance to the contrary we are aſſured by the evidence of Mrs. Newton. And if ſhe had not accidentally met with this information, yet ſhe had ſeen the originals repeatedly: and ſhe was an indiſputable witneſs to the copies from them, though not to the copying. However, there are other proofs to the ſame purpoſe. Mr. Capel, a jeweller at Briſtol, reſided, when an apprentice, in the ſame houſe, where Mr. Lambert had his office. He told me, that he ſaw Chatterton, the very day that he came from Coulſton's, with the tonſure on his head, and in the habit of the place. He was afterwards acquainted with him; and might have been very intimate: but the young man's pride diſguſted him; and he had at the ſame time a diſlike to his principles. However, ſome correſpondence was maintained between them: and Mr. Capel often called in upon him, when he was writing: and he aſſured me, that he had at times ſeen him copying the manuſcripts. I aſked him,

him, if they were parchments: to which he anſwered, with proper caution, that he could not, after ſuch an interval, take upon him to determine about them: as he had at that time no inducement to make any particular enquiry; nor could he apprehend, that they would be found of ſuch value. He ſaid, he remembered very well, that they lay in heaps, and in great confuſion; and ſeemed rumpled, and ſtained: and near them were the papers, upon which Chatterton was tranſcribing. Thus much, he ſaid, he knew for certain, that Chatterton ſpoke of the manuſcripts as ancient writings: and among other things told him, what affords very material evidence, that *he was then ſtudying to underſtand the old language, in which they were written.* One reaſon for this privacy in writing he thought might ariſe from the diſlike, which Mr. Lambert ſhewed to Chatterton's being employed in this manner. And Mr. Capel thinks, that he never ſaw the young lad copying, but when his maſter was gone from home. But there were certainly other reaſons. He concluded with telling me, that he had ſeen many of Chatterton's early compoſitions, at the ſame time that he produced thoſe of Rowley. But there was always, in his opinion, a material difference; the latter being far ſuperior. And he added in reſpect to

to Rowley's poems, that he did not believe there were two perſons in Briſtol, who thought Chatterton was the author. *Sir*, ſays he, *I know, that he was incapable of writing them.* He told me farther, that Chatterton one time was compoſing a play for ſome itinerant players: and he added with a ſmile, *that the real author of Ælla would never have written for ſtrollers.* In ſpeaking of his appearance, he ſaid, that there was generally a drearineſs in his look, and a wildneſs; attended with a viſible contempt for others. There was moreover, upon his being any way irritated, or otherwiſe greatly affected, a light in his eyes, which ſeemed very remarkable. The ſame circumſtance I have heard from others, who knew him. In ſhort, Mr. Capel acknowledged, that Chatterton had parts; but not adequate to the compoſitions in diſpute, of which he was ſuppoſed to have been the author.

It is well known, that one of Chatterton's moſt intimate friends was Mr. Cary, who had been acquainted with him at ſchool. On which account it may not be improper to mention part of a letter, which this perſon wrote in Auguſt 1776 to Mr. George Catcott, who had requeſted his evidence in order to ſtrengthen his own.

" Sir,

" Sir,

" It being your requeſt, that I ſhould " give you my opinion of the authenticity " of Rowley's manuſcripts; I can only ſay, " that I have frequently heard Chatterton " make mention of ſuch writings being in " his poſſeſſion ſhortly after his leaving " ſchool; when he could not be above fif- " teen years of age: and that he had given " Mr. Barrett and Catcott part of them. " Not having any taſte myſelf for ancient " poetry, I do not recollect his having ever " ſhewn them to me: but he often men- " tioned them; when, great as his capacity " was, I am convinced, that he was incapa- " ble of writing them, &c. &c.—This, I " think, I am warranted in aſſerting; as " from my intimacy with him I had it in " my power to, and did, obſerve the pro- " greſs of his genius, from its infancy to its " fatal diſſolution. His abilities for his age " were undoubtedly very great; but not " equal to the works of Rowley: particu- " larly at the age, when he firſt produced " them to light, &c."

Another of Chatterton's boſom friends was Mr. Smith, the ſon of a brewer at Briſtol. As he was about the ſame age as his companion, he knew the whole of his hiſtory; and nobody ſeems to have been in a greater degree

degree of confidence with him, during his ſtay at Lambert's. But this perſon has been for ſome time abroad: on which account I can only give his evidence at ſecond-hand; as I received it from a * particular friend, in whoſe veracity however I can ſafely confide. I ſhall lay it before the reader, for the moſt part, as it was afforded in a ſhort dialogue between theſe two perſons. My friend's enquiry, if I miſtake not, was made in the year 1778: and he wrote down with great accuracy every anſwer, that was made.

Dr. G. When firſt, in what manner, and how often, did Chatterton read Rowley to you?

S. When with Mr. Lambert: not before: ſometimes whole treatiſes; ſometimes parts only; and this very often.—I mean, he uſed to read to me very often ſome ancient pieces of writing, which came from the room over the north porch at Redcliffe. I do not know, that they were all by Rowley. But I never heard him ſpeak of any ancient poet beſides Rowley.

Dr. G. Were theſe manuſcripts upon vellum? and did you ſee theſe manuſcripts? and how many?

* Dr. Glynn.

S. Yes,

S. Yes, they were upon vellum. I have ſeen ſuch manuſcripts. I have ſeen a conſiderable number of them; perhaps a dozen. Many, as I remember very well, had the heads of Kings and Popes, or ſomething in that way, upon them; and ſome were as broad as the bottom of your chair.

Dr. G. Did you ever ſee him tranſcribing any of them? and where?

S. Yes, often; very often; at Mr. Lambert's office: and he has frequently read to me there, what he had juſt tranſcribed. But I had no taſte for ſuch things.

Dr. G. Did he ever tell you when, and in what manner, he came by theſe manuſcripts?

S. Yes; about the time when he firſt went to Lambert's. He had them from a box, which had belonged to his father: and his father had them from Redcliffe church. His father being dead, and theſe parchments in the poſſeſſion of his mother; they for many years ſhared the common fate, that old parchments uſually do. That is, ſome were turned into * thread-papers; ſome into patterns; ſome into

* I did not chooſe to aſk Mrs. Chatterton about the Mſſ. being put to theſe uſes; as it might have embarraſſed her: and it was a circumſtance not very material. Yet there could be no more harm in her making uſe of them

into dolls, and the like. In ſhort, they were applied to all thoſe vile and mean uſes, which waſte writings are liable to be put to. He added, that the manner of their being diſcovered to be of value was this. When young Chatterton was firſt articled to Mr. Lambert, he uſed frequently to come home to his mother by way of a ſhort viſit. There one day his eye was caught by one of theſe thread-papers. He found not only the writing to be very old, the characters very different from common characters; but the ſubject therein treated was different from common ſubjects. Being naturally of an inquiſitive and curious turn, he was very much ſtruck with theſe appearances: and, as one would expect, began to queſtion his mother, what thoſe thread-papers were; how ſhe got them; and from whence they came. Upon farther enquiry he was led to a full diſcovery of all the parchments, which remained, and of what value they were. This was the hiſtory given by Mr. Smith; which was very carefully taken down by my friend. The following account

them for thread-papers, than for her huſband employing them for covers of books. When the value of a thing is not known, we cannot wonder at any miſapplication. If ſhe did act as is ſurmiſed; ſhe did no more, than any other perſon would have done in the ſame circumſtances.

is

is very remarkable. He was always, ſaid Mr. Smith, very fond of walking in the fields, and particularly in Redcliffe meadows; and of talking about theſe manuſcripts, and ſometimes reading them there. *Come,* he would ſay, *you and I will take a walk in the meadow. I have got the cleverest thing for you, that ever was. It is worth half a crown merely to have a ſight of it; and to hear me read it to you.* When we were arrived at the place propoſed, he would produce his parchment; ſhew it, and read it to me. There was one ſpot in particular, full in view of the church, in which he always ſeemed to take a peculiar delight. He would frequently lay himſelf down, fix his eyes upon the church; and ſeem as if he were in a kind of extaſy or trance. Then, on a ſudden and abruptly, he would tell me, *that ſteeple was burnt down by lightning: that was the place, where they formerly acted plays:* (meaning, if I remember right, what is now called the Parade). I recollect very aſſuredly, that he had a parchment in his hand at the very time, when he gave me this deſcription: but whether he read this hiſtory out of that parchment, I am not certain. Being aſked, if Chatterton uſed to ſpeak of theſe Mſſ. as ancient, and as Rowley's, he anſwered, always as ancient; and ſome of them as Rowley's:

ley's: but whether all as Rowley's, he could not determine. Being farther interrogated, whether Chatterton ever ſpoke of theſe manuſcripts and poems, in ſuch a manner, as if he would have people believe, that they were his own; he replied: Chatterton not only never offered to claim them as his own; but never ſo much as dropped any hint that way: never ſeemed, as if he wanted people to ſuſpect, much leſs believe, that they were of his compoſing. *Look you, Sir,* ſaid he, *you will be pleaſed to underſtand me right. What I have here ſaid, I mean in reſpect to ſuch things only, as he gave to Mr. Catcott and Barrett, which were undoubtedly ancient. Whatever he gave out as his own, or publiſhed as his own, I know to have been his unqueſtionably. He had no occaſion to be beholden to any other man's labour for a character. Sir, he was one of the moſt extraordinary geniuſes I ever knew; the moſt extraordinary I ever heard of.* He then went on in an encomium upon his friend, which was much too extravagant; yet excuſable in one, who had ſo great a regard for his memory.

But, whatever the genius and abilities of this young lad may have been, they were unaſſiſted for the moſt part, and uncultivated. This will in great meaſure appear from the teſtimony of this very perſon; who, being

queſtioned, confeſſed Chatterton's ignorance of thoſe languages, which principally conduce to cultivation and knowledge. For when it was aſked, whether he underſtood Latin and Greek; the reply was, *not in the leaſt. He had intimated*, ſaid Mr. Smith, *very frequently, both a deſire to learn, and a deſign to teach himſelf, Latin; but I always diſſuaded him from it, as being in itſelf impracticable. But I adviſed him by all means to try at French. As to Latin, depend upon it, you will find it too hard for you. Try at French, if you pleaſe: of that you may acquire ſome knowledge, without much difficulty: and it will be of real ſervice to you.* Of his utter ignorance in reſpect to the ancient languages, I was farther aſſured by Mr. Barrett; who knew much of him in the two laſt years of his life; and who was a better judge of his abilities than any of his companions. He told me, that Chatterton once borrowed of him Skinner's Etymologicum; but returned it in a few days, becauſe moſt of the interpretations were in Latin. He did the ſame by a ſmall Saxon dictionary, which had in like manner been lent to him; and which he returned on the ſame account. Among the many circumſtances mentioned by Mr. Smith, one is very remarkable. It is well known, that Chatterton was very ambitious to be known, and very greedy of praiſe;

praiſe; ſo that he loaded the preſs with his own productions. Yet he never gave the leaſt hint to his friend, that he ever intended to collect and publiſh Rowley. And though, during his ſtay at Lambert's, a great number of his own compoſitions were ſent up to town for the preſs; yet of the ancient poems none, I believe, except that ſhort one of Elinoure and Juga, were ever tranſmitted for publication: and even this, when ſent, had the name of Rowley prefixed to it; by which he diſtinguiſhed it from his own.

As it was curious and neceſſary to know, what aſſiſtance the young man had towards obtaining any knowledge, my friend Dr. Glynn applied to Mr. Clayfield in Caſtle-ſtreet; as he was ſaid to have lent many books to Chatterton. But the account, which he gave, was, that, to the beſt of his remembrance, he never lent him but two books: for he had but few in his poſſeſſion; the whole being contained in a glaſs caſe, which he kept for his private amuſement. The two books alluded to were Martin's philoſophical grammar; and one volume of Martin's Philoſophy. The latter, he thinks, was borrowed merely for the copy of verſes, which are prefixed to it. He ſaid, that he had heard Chatterton ſpeak of Rowley; but not often: that he had heard him read Milton,

and Thomſon: but he ſeemed more fond of his own verſes: and theſe turned chiefly upon ſatire. He concluded with ſaying, that, in reſpect to the poems of Rowley, the boy had not abilities for ſuch a performance. *Sir*, ſays he, *take my word for it, they were no more his compoſition than mine.* It may be proper to obſerve, that Chatterton was certainly diſtreſſed for information: and as he failed in his expectations from Skinner and the Saxon dictionary, his chief reſources were Kerſey, and the gloſſary to Speght's Chaucer. The very copy, of which he made uſe, with notes in his own hand writing, is now in the poſſeſſion of my friend Dr. Glynn.

It is remarkable, that in the courſe of the evidence afforded by Mr. Smith, there is mention made of Redcliffe church ſpire being burnt by lightning. But how could either Mr. Smith or Chatterton have been apprized of this; as there was no hiſtory, nor any known record, concerning ſuch an event? It is true, that ſince the death of the latter, there has been a publication by Mr. Naſmith, of William of Worceſtre. This came out in the year 1778: and we find the fact there mentioned. Latitudo (lege Altitudo) Turris de Radclyfe continet 300 pedes: de quibus 100 pedes, ſunt per fulmen dejecti. p. 120. As the

the only hiſtory, in which this is mentioned, came out after the death of Chatterton, he could not have his intelligence from hence; but it muſt have come from one of the manuſcripts of Rowley.

OBJECTIONS conſidered.

It has been looked upon as a ſtrong objection, that this William of Worceſtre, who writes ſo particularly about Briſtol, never once takes notice of Rowley. I can only return for anſwer, what I have ſaid before; that Leland, a far more curious obſerver, takes no notice of Canynge. He gives an ample deſcription of Briſtol, and celebrates the very church of Redcliffe: yet ſays not a word of the conſtructor of the church, nor of the benefactor of the place. In his treatiſe de Scriptoribus Britannicis, he mentions neither Lydgate nor Occleve. Why then ſhould we think it ſo ſtrange, that any writer ſhould omit Rowley? Yet from hence ſome have been led to think, that no ſuch perſon exiſted: that the name itſelf was fictitious, and introduced merely to deceive the world. But we have indiſputable evidence in favour of this perſon: which evidence has been obtained from the biſhop's regiſter at Wells; in which dioceſe Briſtol was of old included.

It is there recorded, that Thomas Rowley took his firſt orders of Acolyth in the year 1439. It is likewiſe paſt contradiction manifeſt, that, about the time of Canynge, the family of the Rowleys made a conſiderable figure in Briſtol. This is proved from the original ledger book of St. Ewin's: for which, and much other ſatisfactory evidence, I am greatly obliged to Mr. George Catcott. From this ledger it is plain, that the Rowleys were inhabitants of that pariſh: and that one William Rowley, a merchant, together with John Perſyns, ſerved the office of procurator of St. Ewin's in the 17th year of king Edward the Fourth; and that he was a benefactor to the place Concerning him and his benefactions, the following extracts have been made by Mr. G. Catcott from that book, p. 2d.

April 16, 1450. Item, one maſſe boke of the gefte of W. Rowley, merchant; whych begynneth wyth the collic, that ys to ſaie, Deus qui beatum, &c. before the kalendar: and after the kalendar, exorcizo te, creatura ſalis, &c. and endeth, Chriſtus et agnus, &c.

The ſame William is alſo mentioned, among other benefactors, for a new ſuit of veſtments to St. Ewin's church, in the 14th of king Edward the Fourth, p. 75.

Item,

Item, of William Rowley, 20*d.* - 1 : 8
Imprimis, of William Rowley, for his ſeage in the church - - 1 : 0
Item, of William Rowley, for the making of the pax - - - 3 : 4

Upon the floor in the chancel of St. John's church are the effigies of two perſons in braſs, very perfect, and repreſenting a man and his wife; with the following inſcription, which is ſtill legible:

Hic jacet Thomas Rowley, Mercator, et Vicecomes hujus Villæ Briſtol: qui quidem Thomas obijt xxiii die menſis Januarii, anno Domini, 1478; et Margarita Uxor ejus, quæ obijt **** menſis Martii, annò Domini 1470: quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen. His label has theſe words: Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Her label has, Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus, miſerere nobis. The perſons above lived in the time of Thomas Rowley, the friend of Canynge: and we may infer, that they were his relations.

An INFERENCE of conſequence.

I cannot help taking farther notice of the burning of Redcliffe ſpire; as I think, it may be attended with ſome information of

conſequence. It will ſatisfactorily prove, if I miſtake not, from whom, and from whom only, the young man got his intelligence. It is to be obſerved, that William of Worceſtre viſited at different times ſeveral parts of England: and he has generally put down the particular years of thoſe viſitations. The lateſt date to be found in his book is 1480. Among the more early he has marked one; at which time he left Briſtol to go to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall; which was in the year 1478. From hence I am led to ſuppoſe, that his account of Briſtol, and particularly of Redcliffe church, was in this year, or not long before it. The event may have been ſomewhat prior. Now it is well known, that the celebrated Mr. Canynge died in the * year 1474: between which and the account given by William of Worceſtre there is an interval of only four years inclusive. If then the accident did not happen in that ſpace, it muſt have fallen out antecedently, in the very life-time of Canynge. We may be pretty certain, that it happened in the time of his friend Rowley. He intimates in his life of Canynge, that he ſur-

* He died that year, upon the 7th of November, as appears from the inſcription upon his monument in the ſouth iſle of St. Mary Redcliffe church.

vived

vived that good man; and mentions him experiencing the effects of age: that growing more and more infirm, he changed his ſituation for the ſake of his health and convenience. From hence we may conclude, that he was ſixty years old. Now it is manifeſt from the regiſter of Wells, that he was made Acolyth in the year 1439: and we know, that this office, when regularly taken, was conferred upon very young perſons. For this we have the authority of Heſychius. Ακολεθος, ὁ νεωτερος, παις. The author does not ſay, νεος, but νεωτερος: by which muſt be ſignified a boy, or a very young lad. The nature of the office may be known from Du Cange. Acolutus, Acoluthus, proximus hypodiacono gradus.—Sunt enim (Acolythi) veluti famuli Eccleſiaſtici, ut pote qui vilioribus Eccleſiæ miniſteriis deputantur, ut cereis deferendis, &c. Others make it the loweſt and earlieſt of the four inferior orders: and the buſineſs, in which they were employed, was to take care of the ſacred utenſils, to light the candles, and to do the duty of a ſervitor in reſpect to the church apparatus. If then we ſuppoſe Rowley to have been fifteen, when he was admitted Acolyth in the year 1439, he muſt have been born in 1424: and if he lived to be ſixty, he was alive in the year 1484; which was ſix years after the account given

given by William of Worceſtre. Or if we ſuppoſe him to have been twenty, when he was made Acolyth, he will then have been ſixty in 1479: ſo that at all rates he muſt have been acquainted with the accident of the ſpire.

As William of Worceſtre may poſſibly have written either in the year 1479, or 1480, which is later than the time which I have ſuppoſed; it may be proper, in order to obviate all ſcruples and difficulties, to determine the very year; that the inferences thence drawn may be well founded. Though his account is deſultory, and his hiſtories mixed; yet ſome degree of method may at times be found. He tells us, p. 89, that he ſat out upon a journey from Briſtol to Cornwall in the year 1478. Viagium de * Briſtolio, &c. He gives an account of the ſame journey more at large, p. 142: which he began at † Norwich, and from thence went to Briſtol,

* This is the title to the deſcription given of his journey; but it is ſeparated, and the diary interrupted, by the hiſtory of perſons deceaſed, and by the dates of events, that occurred in the monaſteries, which he viſited in his way. The manuſcript of the Itinerary ſeems to have been compiled from the author's looſe papers, and is in many places confuſed; but may be eaſily made out.

† Die Lunæ 17 Auguſti incepi viagium de Norwico uſque Myghell-mont in Cornubiâ. Mem. The 17th of Auguſt fell upon a Monday in the year 1478.

which

which he reached on *Tueſday*, the firſt of September. He left this place on *Wedneſday* the ninth of September; and on *Thurſday* the 17th of September he heard maſs in the Mount of St. Michael. From thence he returned, and was again at Briſtol upon *Tueſday*, the feaſt of St. Michael, the 29th of the ſame month, p. 146. Now his deſcription of Redcliffe tower, and the account of the ſpire, is antecedent to his journey to Cornwall; and is accordingly mentioned, p. 120. And that the journey to Cornwall was in the year 1478, is plain to a demonſtration by the days of the week ſpecified. For the firſt of September, when he mentions his reaching Briſtol, was that year a *Tueſday:* and cannot be made to agree with the years, which immediately followed. Alſo the 17th of September, upon which day he got to St. Michael's Mount, was a *Thurſday*, as he has deſcribed it. And the 29th of September, or Michaelmas, when he returned, was that year a *Tueſday*. For the Sunday letter for 1478 was D; by which teſt all the days ſpecified may be * tried, and confirmed. He

* After his return to Briſtol from Cornwall, he mentions obſervations which he made, concerning the iſlands in and near the Severn: which he ſays was in the year ſpecified above, 1478, primo die Octobris. Memorandum de inſulis aquæ de Severn, p. 154.

concludes

concludes his journal by ſaying, Mercurii, 7 die (Octobris) per Alton, per caſtrum Fernham, Gylford, Kyngyſton, etc. uſque London. Theſe data accord with thoſe above. The ſeventh of October was dies Mercurii, or *Wedneſday*, in the year 1478; and not in the two ſubſequent years. Hence it is manifeſt, that the caſualty, which is mentioned of the ſpire, muſt have been before this term: conſequently Rowley muſt have been acquainted with it; and we cannot well ſuppoſe, but that it was recorded by him. And as there are no other means, which can with any ſhew of reaſon be deviſed for Chatterton to have arrived at this knowledge, we may preſume, that he had it from the Redcliffe manuſcripts. If we conſider all the circumſtances, with which this enquiry has been attended, we may be morally certain, that it was from Rowley, and from him only, that this intelligence could be derived. At the ſame time it gives great weight to the teſtimony of Mr. Smith: and ſhews that the account he gave, was founded in truth. This incidental piece of intelligence is ſimilar to that concerning the fine impoſed upon Canynge of 3000 marks; which has been authenticated by the ſame writer, though, I believe, not to be found in any other hiſtory. The knowledge of this muſt

have

have been procured by Chatterton from the ſame reſource as the former; from the Mſſ. of * Rowley. There was no other, from which he could obtain it.

From what has been ſaid, we may perhaps aſſign ſome reaſon, why William of Worceſtre does not make mention of Rowley. It is obſervable, that, unleſs hiſtory demands it, writers do not commonly commemorate perſons before their death. Now we may be morally certain, that Rowley was alive, when William of Worceſtre was at Briſtol; and probably lived ſome years afterwards. He may have ſurvived him; as he appears to have been a younger man than William of Worceſtre, who was born in the year 1415. This may have been the reaſon, why his name does not occur.

I had forgot to mention, that there were two perſons named Rowle and Roly, and each of them Thomas, who are found mentioned in the regiſter of Wells.

* When Redcliffe church was firſt built, Rowley had propheſied, in ſome verſes upon the occaſion, that it would—*defie*

Fyre-levyn and the mokie ſtorme.

But he certainly lived long enough to find that he was no true prophet; for the church, as we have ſeen, was in his time ſtruck with levyn, or lightning. See Rowley's Poems, p. 276, ver. 6.

Thomas

Thomas Rowle was ordained Acolyth 31ſt May 1439.

Thomas Roly was admitted to the ſame degree 21ſt March 1460. From hence, and from other circumſtances, it appears, that neither the name, nor family, of Rowley, was ſo obſcure, as ſome people have imagined. The firſt of theſe two perſons was undoubtedly the author of the poems. The other was probably a relation.

PRIVATE

PRIVATE EVIDENCE

OF THE

TRANSCRIBER.

MANY inſtances have been produced of the uniform and publick atteſtation, which Chatterton gave to the poems of Rowley. He afforded ſome of a more private nature; which ſeem to have come from the heart; and were ſubjoined for his own uſe, as notes to ſome of the copies, which he tranſcribed. This was abundantly proved to me by Mr. Barrett, a gentleman of conſummate candour and goodneſs; to whom I am under great obligations for repeated civilities; and ſtill more for ſtore of intelligence, which I could no where elſe have obtained. One of theſe private atteſtations is annexed to

to an account of a manuſcript, ſtiled *The Pattern of St. Luke:* under which Chatterton has ſubjoined this note—*A book frequently quoted by Canynge and Rowley; conſiſting of phyſick and theology.* At the bottom of another treatiſe, where plays and mummeries are mentioned, he has added an obſervation to this purpoſe; that plays in that rude age had acquired a degree of merit far beyond what was generally thought: and then concludes with theſe remarkable words; *as will be ſeen, when I have leiſure to tranſcribe ſome of Rowley's, and one of Stowe's.* In another treatiſe, where it is ſaid, that *the world was created by the Holy Sprite*, there is again a private reference to Rowley. He mentions him likewiſe in ſome ſatirical verſes, prefixed to his counterfeit will: which will and verſes were made at a very ſolemn ſeaſon, when he purpoſed to put an end to his life. They witneſs a ſad deſpondency, and great bitterneſs of heart. In an addreſs to Mr. George Catcott are the following lines; in which he treats him with more lenity, than he ſhews to others: yet they are ſufficiently ſevere.

Catcott, for thee, I know thy heart is good:
But ah! thy merit's little underſtood.
For bigotted to whimſies, which thy youth
Receiv'd to venerate for goſpel truth,

Thy

Thy friendſhip never could be dear to me,
Since all I am is oppoſite to thee.
If ever obligated to thy purſe,
Rowley repays them all, my firſt chief * curſe.

In the annexed will, among other ideal legacies, he bequeaths the following: *I leave to Briſtol all my ſpirit and diſintereſtedneſs, parcels of goods unknown to her key, ſince the days of Canynge and Rowley.* Upon the cover of the book, which contained in his handwriting the will and verſes, was the following memorandum: *All this wrote between eleven and two o'clock, Saturday, in the utmoſt diſtreſs of mind.* By this is meant, between eleven and two at midnight; and, as it elſewhere appears, upon the 14th of April 1770. What he here threatened, but poſtponed, was unfortunately put in execution the Auguſt following, after he had been a few months in town. We may be aſſured, from theſe indirect and repeated appeals to Rowley, that he was eſteemed by Chatterton a real perſon; the ſame, from whoſe writings he copied.

Beſides theſe proofs, Mr. Barrett has ſeveral manuſcripts of indiſputable authority,

* Theſe verſes were compoſed, as will be ſeen, when he was ſeventeen years and five months old; not long before his death. Let them be compared with the poetry, which he produced as Rowley's, when he was a year or two younger.

which have been ſigned by Rowley himſelf. The characters in each inſtance appear to be ſimilar; and the hand-writing the ſame in all. In theſe and in other manuſcripts the poems of Rowley are referred to, and their antiquity ſhewn. To obviate theſe cogent arguments, people have inſiſted, that the young lad forged the whole: and indeed the whole muſt have been in great meaſure his production, if the poems were: there is ſo great a correſpondence between them and the other writings. But this was not poſſible. For what time had this young man for ſo extenſive a fraud? and what inducement to carry it on? The firſt general diſcovery of the Mſſ. being in his poſſeſſion, was at the opening of the bridge at Briſtol in the year 1768, when he was not quite ſixteen years old. Mr. Catcott then became firſt acquainted with him: and he has aſſured me, that he remembers Chatterton's mentioning to him at that time moſt of the poems, which have appeared ſince in print. Some of them he got from him, as has been before ſhewn. The like was told me by Mr. Barrett, in reſpect to himſelf. He aſſured me, that moſt of the Mſſ. in his poſſeſſion were obtained from Chatterton very early, and nearly at the ſame time. I have mentioned, that the general diſcovery of them was in 1768, at the opening

opening of the * bridge: but they were known to his mother and ſiſter before, and to ſome of his friends. They had ſeen them in his poſſeſſion; and heard him read the tranſcripts, which he had made from them. But were it not ſo; who can conceive, that a boy at the age above-mentioned could form ſuch an idle ſcheme of deceiving the whole world; and continue to proſecute it to ſuch a length? Add to this, that the poems and writings unpubliſhed, as far as I could learn, are equal to thoſe, which have been printed; and poſſibly far exceed them. Thoſe too, which were deſtroyed, muſt be taken into the eſtimate: ſo that the amount will be found very great. Yet of theſe the principal and moſt excellent were made known ſoon after the opening of the new bridge, 1ſt October 1768, when he was about ſixteen years old. The compoſition therefore muſt have been much ſooner. From his firſt coming to Mr. Lambert's to this time was but a year and three months. It is ſomewhat ſurprizing, circumſtanced as he was, that he could in that time be able to underſtand the numerous manuſcripts: but that he could execute the whole himſelf is paſt belief. If we ſuppoſe him to have begun at fourteen, there is not

* He was at that time little more than fifteen years and ten months old.

time for the performance: nor even, if we go back to thirteen. But he was at that time, and long after, immured in the blue-coat charity ſchool; and knew nothing more than to read, and to write, and to caſt accounts. Of this we are certified by the maſter, Mr. Haynes, who is now alive. His mother, ſiſter, and all who then knew him, give evidence to the ſame purpoſe.

SOME FARTHER OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

THE poems of Rowley have ſtood a very ſevere teſt. Every objection, which wit and ingenuity could invent, has been produced againſt them. Hence numberleſs doubts and difficulties have been ſtarted: and a variety of ſuſpicions raiſed, in order to take off from that antiquity, to which they are juſtly entitled. The great ſtumbling-block, and in reality the only one, is the harmony of the verſe, which is imagined to be too good for the age, to which the poems are aſcribed. This opinion is thought to be ſtill ſtrengthened by the modern turn of the language: and in ſupport of theſe notions all other objections have been framed. But I have ſhewn, that this argument is fallacious: and that the ſame objections might be made to the Crede of Pierce

Plowman, or the ſtory of William Wallace; the former of which was a century prior, and the latter of the ſame æra. As a proof of this, let the reader turn back to thoſe lines, which I have quoted from theſe poems; and particularly to the paſſages from the latter, p. 433. Make a ſmall change in the * dialect; and the verſes will be found as good, and the language as modern, as that which is at this day in uſe. Beſides, there are at all times perſons, who ſtand forth beyond their compeers: and Rowley was one of theſe. And as to the harmony of his verſe, it is not univerſal; nor is that modern appearance to be found every where. On the contrary, though there may be oftentimes ſome brilliant lines; yet the verſe in general wants that equability, which prevails in more mo-

* I have ſaid a great deal concerning the dialects obſervable in ancient writers of this iſland. The like notice is taken by the learned Dr. Percy, the preſent dean of Carliſle. This may be ſeen more than once in thoſe obſervations, with which he has enriched that curious collection of old poetry, by him collected and publiſhed. He alſo obſerves very truly, how very equably and ſmoothly they wrote in one age, and how they degenerated in another: and of this he affords many inſtances. From hence is very ſatisfactorily ſhewn, that the rhythm and ſtyle of a poem will not always lead us to the time of its compoſition. See vol. ii. p. 7, p. 28, p. 68, p. 138, and p. 279, concerning Rob. of Glouceſter, and his dialect.

dern

dern compoſitions: and there are in the language ſtrong marks of antiquity; as may be proved by the gloſſary, which is manifeſtly very copious. Indeed, in ſome places the language ſeems more obſolete, than could be expected for the time of king Edward the Fourth: and the reaſon is, that ſome of the poems, however new modelled, were prior to that æra. For Rowley himſelf tells us, that he borrowed from Turgott: and we have reaſon to think, that he likewiſe copied from * Chedder. Theſe objections therefore are founded on prejudice; which by collating and comparing may be eaſily removed.

OBJECTIONS to the Manuſcripts conſidered.

But it is ſaid, that the manuſcripts, from whence the poems were tranſcribed, as well as thoſe, with which they were accompanied, were not in the hand-writing of the fifteenth century. This does not ſeem to be a juſt objection: for what criterion is there, by which we can certainly determine about the common hand-writing of people at any time,

* A poet mentioned in the MſS. who is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed about the year 1330 He is ſaid to have had ſome *maumeries* at the *comitating* the city.

in the ſame country? The writings of great clerks, and lawyers, by which property is conveyed, and in which the publick regiſters and records are preſerved, may be ſimilar, and perhaps uniform, in any particular age. But the hand-writing of individuals will always be vague, and uncertain: nor was there ever a ſtandard, by which it could be at any time determined. Let a perſon conſult the general poſt-office, where there are every week, and, I believe, every day, letters rejected: ſome written by foreigners in bad Engliſh; others by natives in worſe; and both in characters not to be deciphered. Let him, I ſay, look at theſe; and ſee, if they might not be adjudged to any age. Or if this may not appear concluſive, let us have recourſe to the hand-writing and names of thoſe perſons, who ſat in judgment upon king Charles the Firſt: which have been taken from the repoſitory of curious manuſcripts in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Aſtle, and very faithfully engraved. If a perſon, who knew nothing concerning the hiſtory of the liſt, were directed to many names in it for his judgment, he would be at a loſs, to what age he ſhould determine them; whether to this, or to the laſt; or to either of the two preceding. The ſame learned gentleman has afforded us ſpecimens of hand-writing by ſome

ſome of the kings of England; which like the former have been engraved with great care. In one ſheet are the ſignatures of princes from James the Firſt downwards to king George the Second, incluſive. But did we not know the hiſtory of the perſons referred to, we ſhould never from the characters find out, when they wrote. And though between the firſt year of king James, and the laſt of king George, there was an interval of little leſs than an hundred and ſixty years, yet nobody from the mode of writing would judge, which had the priority. In another ſheet are the names of princes, who were of a more early date. But all, that can from hence be learned, is, that the more early they lived, the worſe they wrote. Among the ſeveral ſignatures exhibited, there is one of Margaret of Anjou, wife of king Henry the Sixth; which like many others affords little indication of its age. It would puzzle the moſt knowing antiquary to find out by the characters the time, in which it was written. It might be adjudged to any æra; alſo to any language or country. Some poſſibly might eſteem it of no language; as it ſcarcely diſcovers one of thoſe elementary characters, of which the name properly conſiſts. I am therefore convinced, that there can be no certain criterion concerning the common writing

writing of any period. When we ſee any mixture of Saxon letters; and when particular abbreviations and coalitions are to be found; the manuſcripts may be aſcribed to an indeterminate antiquity. But the common writing of individuals will be ſtill more indeterminate: and if any judgment be formed from a compariſon with the ſtated and official hands in vogue, we may be very wide of the truth. It has been likewiſe mentioned to me, by way of objection, that one of theſe parchments had been ſtained with yellow ochre. I have enquired of Mr. Barrett, who does not remember any particular ſtain: but if it were as repreſented, I do not ſee the inference. Yes, it is ſaid; we may from hence perceive, that it was a forgery; and that it was marked with yellow, to give it a more antique caſt. Now I do not ſee, why marking it with yellow will give it a more ancient appearance, than ſtaining it with red or brown; or ſoiling it with duſt. In ſhort, Chatterton was ſo far from forging the manuſcripts, that he often could not read them. Of this I have given ſome examples; and ſhall hereafter produce more.

Concerning

Concerning ſome of the original Manuſcripts.

Mr. Barrett, who readily afforded me all the information in his power, ſhewed me many of the original manuſcripts, which by his care had been preſerved. Among theſe he mentioned the Song to Ælla, which was the firſt ſpecimen, which he obtained. The Song was firſt given to him in Chatterton's hand-writing, about the latter end of the year 1768. Upon his enquiring of him concerning the original, he had that too brought the very next morning. It appeared ſoiled and rumpled; and had every mark of antiquity. The ſame is to be obſerved in all the parchments, which were given to him. The letters were in moſt faint, and the ink faded; and the manuſcripts in many places not legible. But as Mr. Barrett at this time fortunately attended upon Lord Litchfield, who was come to Briſtol for his health; he was adviſed by him to make an application of galls, in order to recover the ink, which was thus faded. He accordingly made the experiment; and it ſucceeded very well. By theſe means the characters were in great meaſure reſtored; and the parchments rendered legible.

legible. But I would here aſk, if we ſuppoſe Chatterton to have gone on in a ſeries of forgery; how he could give to the Mſſ. theſe marks of antiquity, which they manifeſtly bear? They might be eaſily rumpled and ſoiled: but how could he render the ink of that faint and gray appearance; and make the characters ſo uniformly obſcure? In ſhort, how could he give thoſe marks of antiquity? that wear and tear, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf; and all thoſe injuries and imperfections, which are the conſequence of age? What time does imperceptibly and by degrees, cannot be brought about at once. It is not a day, nor a year, that can produce theſe alterations. Beſides, if the whole were a fraud, it was not carried on at one time only, nor in one inſtance; but in many. The life therefore of the young man would not have ſufficed for the execution. Many of theſe Mſſ. I have ſeen: and they bear indiſputable marks of antiquity: ſuch as could not be counterfeited under a long ſpace of time: and even then they would be liable to detection. And, after all, *cui bono?* what emolument was obtained, or even aimed at, by the young lad, from this ſuppoſed forgery; from this long ſeries of miſapplied induſtry? He does not ſeem to have purpoſed any advantage: nor could any good have ariſen from

from this fraud, but what might with more eaſe have been obtained in a fair * way.

Concerning the abilities of CHATTERTON, and the reſources, to which he applied.

But after all, he had neither parts nor learning adequate to ſuch performances. To this all, who knew him, bear witneſs. Many of them are greatly prejudiced in his favour: yet, when the queſtion is put about his literary attainments, they confeſs that he was wanting; and had not the leaſt inſight into the learned languages, through which true knowledge is conveyed. It may be ſaid, that ſome of theſe perſons were of no rank in life; nor had themſelves any pretenſions to ſcience. Suppoſe it to be ſo: yet they were people of ſenſe and probity: and it requires no length of line to plumb, when the ſtream is not out of one's depth. They might not be able to comprehend the genius of a Boyle or a Newton: yet we may ſuppoſe them to be judges of the abilities of a charity boy; of one, who was upon the ſame level, as themſelves, or perhaps inferior. We may

* The ſame may be ſaid of any perſon ſubſtituted in his room.

allow

allow a perſon to meaſure an object of his own height; though he may not know the altitude of the ſun, nor the diſtance of a fixed ſtar. And I cannot conceive, why a perſon's evidence, which would be thought good in a caſe of property, and even upon life and death, may not be admitted to determine a poem. But all, to whom I applied, were very reſpectable perſons. Beſides others, there is Mr. Barrett, a gentleman of reading and judgment, who was perfectly well acquainted with the extent of Chatterton's powers: and he has repeatedly told me, that they were by no means * ſhining. The maſter of the ſchool, Mr. Haynes, to whoſe care he was committed, is ſtill alive; and affords, as I am aſſured, the ſame evidence. He ſays, that he was not a boy of extraordinary parts: nor did he make any diſplay of abilities, during the time, that he was at ſchool; which was till he had compleated fourteen years and an half. But the beſt proof is from his own performances; eſpecially from thoſe, which he compoſed

* In the ſatire, with which his laſt will is accompanied, he ſeems to own, that, what learning he had obtained, was by the means of Mr. Barrett.

To Barrett next: he has my thanks ſincere,
For all the little knowledge I had here:
But what was knowledge? how could it ſucceed,
When hardly twenty in the town could read?

the

the lateſt. Some of them are very low and abject: and the beſt do not riſe above mediocrity.

What his learning was, may be farther ſeen from the expedients, of which he made uſe, in order to get inſtruction. As he had engaged himſelf in copying ancient manuſcripts; we have ſeen, that he took the firſt opportunity of borrowing Skinner's Etymologicum, and a Saxon dictionary. But as theſe did not anſwer his purpoſe, he got Speght's Chaucer for the ſake of the gloſſary, and Kerſey's dictionary. In the latter of theſe he uſed to hunt in a moſt ſervile manner. This may be perceived in a ſtrange bombaſt letter to his friend Smith, which he wrote about a fortnight before he died. It conſiſts of many high-ſounding and uncommon terms; borrowed from the Greek, and relating chiefly to different ſorts of poetry. Theſe are all to be found in Kerſey, and, I believe, in no other Engliſh dictionary. That he had them from this ſource, is certain from his copying the very errors of the author; ſuch as *Ogdaſtick*, for *Ogdoaſtick*, a miſtake, which occurs in * Kerſey: alſo *Cephalophonia* for the *head-ach*, inſtead of *Cephaloponia*;

* Ogdaſtick, an epigram conſiſting of eight verſes. Kerſey.

which

which is to be found in the ſame * author. In like manner he has *cheriſaunei* for *cheriſaunce*, borrowed in the ſame † manner. This gives room to ſuſpect, that he ſometimes altered the originals, which he had before him, upon the authority of theſe etymologiſts.

From theſe expedients, of which he made uſe to gain information, we may perceive the ſmall extent both of his learning, and judgment. It may be farther ſeen in the account, given of him even by his moſt ſanguine friends. For when they ſpeak of him as a prodigy, they found their notion chiefly upon thoſe ſing-ſong compoſitions in verſe, which he wrote to ſome young women at Briſtol, and to other friends; and which may be looked upon as very tolerable for a perſon ſo young. But theſe perſons never give the leaſt hint about any hiſtorical knowledge; nor mention any writer of conſequence, which he had read. The ſame is manifeſt from the books, which he borrowed. Many of them were, as I have ſhewn, dictionaries and gloſſaries; and ſuch, as afforded a compendious rout towards a little ſuperficial knowledge.

* Cephalophonia, a pain in the head. Kerſey.

† Cheriſaunei, (O) *comfort*. Kerſey. Concerning this word, and the alteration in conſequence of it, ſee p. 106, of this Treatiſe.

His

His other reading ſeems to have been expended in magazines and miſcellanies: and he was converſant in Milton, Shakeſpear, and Thomſon. Beyond theſe he does not ſeem to have aſpired. That this was the caſe, we may be aſſured from the perſons, to whom he applied; Mr. Barrett, Green, Clayfield, and others, ſtill living. But the author of theſe poems and manuſcripts muſt have been a perſon of much reading: one, who was converſant both in ancient and modern literature. This is manifeſt from the frequent alluſions to ancient ceremonies and cuſtoms; and from the references to Greek and Roman authors: alſo from a number of words borrowed from the old French, Saxon, and Scottiſh languages. In the ſermon upon the *Holy Sprite*, there is a quotation from Cyprian; and another from the Greek of Gregory * Nazianzen: and in the ſtory of John † Lamington are many Latin quotations. None

* The paſſage is as follows; Γεννᾶται Χριϛὸς; προτρέχει. Βαπτίζεται; μαρτυρεῖ. Πειράζεται; ανάγει. Δυνάμεις επιτελεῖ; συνπαρομαρτεῖ. Ανέρχεται; διαδέχεται. Greg. Nazian. Orat. 37, p. 610. Edit. Paris. This laſt word ſeems to have been effaced in the original manuſcript. In the room of which, the word κατεχεται has been ſubſtituted in ſome copies.

† A play or interlude of John Iſcham, ſtiled *The merrie tricks of Laymyngetonne*. The quotations here are

 introduced

None of theſe were obvious, and ſuch as a boy could attain to. Nor are they idly and oſtentatiouſly introduced: they are all pertinent, and well adapted. In reſpect to the ſermon upon the *Holy Sprite*, the very texture of it ſhews, that it was the compoſition of a perſon verſed in divinity. Hence ſome have thought, that Chatterton accidentally lit upon an old ſermon; and put it off for Rowley's. But if we allow him to have met with ſuch an ancient compoſition, what inducement could he have to aſcribe it to a wrong author? Conſequently, can any reaſon be alledged, why we ſhould not give it to the perſon ſpecified? It is ſaid, that the hiſtory of Rowley is obſcure, and but lately made known. But what do we get by having recourſe to a perſon ſtill more in the dark; and whoſe hiſtory is not at all known?

Concerning his MISCONCEPTIONS.

I have mentioned, and have endeavoured to ſhew, that Chatterton many times did not

introduced in a ludicrous manner, being put in the mouth of a pedantick merchant of Briſtol. Among the proſe Mſſ. of Rowley, mention is made of a church being founded by Lamyngton, who had been a terrible freebooter and pirate in the time of king Henry the Sixth; and was obliged to execute a work of this nature, to obtain his pardon.

underſtand

underſtand the poems, which he preſumed to interpret: and it is farther to be obſerved, that there was often a material variation between the copy and the original; which never could have happened, if he had been the author of both. He muſt have known his own writing; and would not have deviated from his own purpoſe. It is wonderful, that this inference has not been made before: for to me it amounts to a certainty, that he had ancient manuſcripts, which he imperfectly copied. Thus in the ſong to Ælla, which was given to Mr. Barrett in Chatterton's hand-writing, two lines are found to be expreſſed in the following manner:

Orr ſeeſt the hatchedd ſtede
Ifrayninge o'er the mede.

But when the original parchment, which was brought the next day, had been cleaned and examined more accurately, the true reading was found to be, not *ifrayninge*, but *ypraun-cynge:* which makes, in reſpect to ſenſe, a material difference.

Orr ſeeſt the hatchedd ſtede
Ypraauncynge o'er the mede.

I have mentioned, that Mr. Barrett made uſe of galls to fetch out the faded characters; which ſucceeded well. Hence many of Chat-

terton's readings were found to be erroneous: and it was plain, that, from the letters being nearly effaced, he had often miſtaken the original terms, and ſubſtituted one word for another. Thus, in the poem to Lydgate, inſtead of

I and thee, — he read *thou and I.*
Inſtead of *goe*, — *bee.*
Inſtead of *wryte*, — *fyghte.*

The ſong to Ælla is upon parchment, and written like proſe, without any breaks or diviſions. This was of old uſual, in order to ſave expence, by crouding as much as could be brought together within a ſmall compaſs: becauſe materials for writing were * dear. In this ſong many of the variations between the copy and original are remarkable. Some of theſe I will mention, as they have been previouſly noticed by Mr. Tyrwhitt. Towards

* There was no paper manufactured in England till about the year 1493, or 4; when it was introduced by John Tate. The firſt book printed upon this paper was Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum, by Wynkyn de Worde, about 1494.

John Tate the yonger joye mote he broke,
Whiche late hathe in Englond doo make this paper thynne
That now in our Engliſh this boke is prynted Inne.
See Prohemium Bartholomei de proprietatibus rerum.

the

the end of the ſecond ſtanza, Ælla is repreſented as ſpreading deſtruction far and near, upon the ſhore of Watchet: and in the copy of Chatterton, the poet ſays of his hero,

Then dyddſt thou furiouſe ſtande,
And bie thie *valyante hande*
Beeſprengedd all the mees wyth gore.

But upon examining the original, the true reading was found to be

And bie thie *burlie* hande.

And even this I ſuſpect to be a miſtake for *burlie brand*. In the ſame poem Chatterton's copy has

dyſmall	—	for *honore*,
braſtynge	—	for *burſtynge*.

In the Anſwer of Lydgate, he has

varſes	—	for *pene*, or *pen*,
ſendes	—	for *lendes*,
lyne —	—	for *thynge*.

In another copy of the ſong to Ælla, he has

doe —	—	for *goe*,
fyghte	—	for *wryte*,
whoſe hayres	-	for *whoſe lockes*,
glare —	—	for *gloue*, *i. e. glow*.
kenneſt	—	for *heareſt*.

The like miſtakes are often to be diſcovered

from the context in copies, of which there is no original preſerved. For the true reading appears from the plain purport of the lines, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has with much judgment * ſhewn. Of this he affords ſeveral inſtances in the errata, which are annexed to his edition of Rowley; where Chatterton has miſtaken

victuals	—	for *victims*,
fears —	—	for *tears*,
toe —	—	for *doe*,
ſtorven	—	for *ſtroven*,
ſythe —	—	for *ſyke*,
bie thanks	—	for *mie thanks*.

Can theſe be the miſtakes of an author? Certainly not. We may perceive, that he could not always read the characters of the Mſſ. and accordingly, when he was at a loſs, ſupplied arbitrarily, what was wanting; forming his conjectures from the context. And in doing this he changed the mode of ſpelling, in order to give his variations an air of antiquity. But when the original parchment was either cleaned, or more carefully examined, then theſe aberrations were diſcovered; and the true reading reſtored.

* See Mr. Tyrwhitt's Introduction to Rowley; to which I have been obliged for much curious intelligence. See p. xv. and xvi.

It moreover fortunately happened, that not only theſe miſtakes were detected; but on the other hand ſeveral truths have been authenticated, which before appeared doubtful. Thus in one treatiſe copied by Chatterton, the celebrated Canynge is mentioned as a * ſecond ſon. But we have no voucher for this in any hiſtory: and it would appear a mere boyiſh and groundleſs fancy, were it not for another manuſcript in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion, by the authority of which it is proved. But this manuſcript was utterly unknown to Chatterton. It was indeed obtained with ſome others from Redcliffe church; but from a different part of it: and taken away, if I miſtake not, by a perſon before Chatterton was born. It is therefore impoſſible, that this young lad could have uttered theſe circumſtances at random; and then had theſe after-evidences in his favour. He muſt have had an original manuſcript before him, from whence theſe matters of fact were borrowed; a manuſcript of the

* It is in an account, which was prefixed as a title to the Storie of Wylliam Canynge, and is to be found in Mr. Barrett's copy, given him by Chatterton. *Wyllyam Canynge was borne ſeconde ſonne of Johne, ſonne of Wyllyam, ſonne of Roberte Canynge; all of Seyncte Marie Redcliffte. Hee was relatedd toe Gurneies, Nevylles, Monteacutes, and otherr gentle houſes, &c.*

ſame date, and by the ſame hand, as that extant now, by which the fact is proved.

As I have more than once ſpoken of Mr. Barrett, and my obligations to him; it may be proper to appriſe the learned world, that he has now made a great progreſs in his Hiſtory of Briſtol; which, in conſequence of it, I hope will ſoon appear in print. It will afford to the antiquary, and to every favourer of learning, much curious and recondite intelligence. In this work will be found many evidences in favour of Rowley's poems: and there will be inſerted copies of ſeveral manuſcripts ſtill extant, which were written by Rowley himſelf; and are ſubſcribed with his name in his own hand-writing. One in particular is ſtiled *the Purple Roll*, and conſiſts of two parts. The firſt is in the writing of Chatterton, the original being loſt. The ſecond is upon parchment, and indiſputably ancient. It is made up of different ſubjects: for I have before obſerved, that people were obliged to crowd together many articles within the ſame limits, on account of the dearneſs both of parchment and paper. It contains an account of coining: and there is alſo ſome hiſtory given of Ælla, and of his fight with the Danes; in which, contrary to the poet's narrative in the play, he is ſaid to have

have died of his wounds. It alſo makes mention of Turgott; and affords great illuſtration to ſeveral things alluded to in the poem ſtiled the Battle of Haſtings, for which before I could not well account. It is ſhewn, that he was connected with Briſtol: and he may poſſibly have come from it; for we have no light from hiſtory to determine, where he was born. If any faith may be repoſed in the manuſcripts of Rowley, and I hope by this time they have merited ſome credit, we find in the account of the * *Carvellers*, that Turgott was aſſuredly of this place. *Turgotte borne of Saxonne Parents ynn Briſtowe Towne, and a monke of the Chyrche of* † *Dumeſne. Hee was ſkylled ynn tonges, and wrytten meynte Rolles, as yee maie ſee ynn mie yellowe Rolle. Hee dydd deceaſe ynn* MXCVII, *beynge buryed ynn* ‡ *Durham Chyrche.* There is alſo in the ſame manuſcript an account given of Afflem, whoſe name is mentioned in the Battle of § Haſtings. *Afflem a monke of Seyncte Cuthberte wythe beforeſayde Turgotte, Briſtowe borne, a moſte ſkyllfulle peyncteoure,*

* A manuſcript in the hands of Mr. Barrett.

† The true reading is undoubtedly Dureſme.

‡ So expreſſed in the manuſcript lent me by Mr. George Catcott: but I ſhould imagine that the original, like that above, was Dureſme.

§ Page 213, ver. 61.

and

and poett. Whenne he dyedd ys uncouthe. The time of Turgott's death does not agree with that given by Simeon of Durham. The figures may poſſibly have been tranſpoſed and altered. For MXCVII, we ſhould read MCXV: for this was the true year of his deceaſe. The account of his birth-place accords in ſome ſmall degree with that given by the above-mentioned Simeon, who ſays, that he came * *a remotis Angliæ partibus.* This relation to Briſtol might be the reaſon of his ſo readily joining himſelf in the north to the monks Aldwin and Reinfrid; who came nearly from the † ſame part of the kingdom. His connexion with Briſtol affords alſo a reaſon, why the people of that place are ſpoken of with ſo much ‡ honour: and for the references to the Severn and the Hygra; which I once thought might have been additions by Rowley. It likewiſe affords farther authority, and in ſome degree a

* P. 206.

† They came from the monaſtery of Winchelcomb, in Glouceſterſhire.

‡ It is remarkable, that the reverſe of this is obſervable in the writings of Chatterton: for they in general contain a ſatire upon Briſtol and its inhabitants: not a line is to be found in their favour. The two other writers are always zealous in their praiſes both of the place and people. This is a circumſtance, which deſerves our attention.

proof,

proof, that the poem called the Battle of Haſtings was originally written by Turgott; which is by Rowley intimated more than once. Laſtly, it accounts for the title aſſumed by Chatterton of *Dunelmenſis Briſtolienſis*; which he would never have taken, had it not been for a prior ſignature of Turgott of Dunhelm, which he had ſeen upon a manuſcript.

RECA-

RECAPITULATION.

IF we conſider all, that has been ſaid, we ſhall find, that there has been full evidence afforded to the following facts. Firſt, that Mr. William Canynge, by the aſſiſtance of his friend and confeſſor Thomas Rowley, did make a valuable collection of writings. That they were depoſited in a large cheſt in a room over the north porch in St. Mary Redcliffe at Briſtol. That he took the utmoſt care for the preſervation of this valuable depoſit, by having ſix keys to the cheſt, and as many truſtees, who were to perform an annual viſitation. Of Rowley, whoſe exiſtence was doubted, there has been afforded ſufficient teſtimony from the regiſter of Wells: and it has been farther ſhewn from the ledger of St. Ewin's, that in his time, there were at Briſtol ſeveral reſpectable perſons

ſons of that name; and, as we may reaſonably infer, of his family. It has been ſhewn, that the writings thus laid up, were preſerved very ſafely, till the year 1727: at which time the cheſt was broken open; and part of the parchments carried to another room. That the remainder lay expoſed, and was carried away by different perſons. That Chatterton's father had a large ſhare; of which a great deal was by him miſapplied and ruined. What was left at his death his widow put into a box, and upon her removal carried to her own houſe. That this box was ſome years afterwards diſcovered by her ſon, when he was about fifteen years old; and that he at times carried off the writings, which he ſtudied and copied at his maſter's office. Mention has been made of his joy, when he found out their value: of his extaſy in ſpeaking of them, and when he read them to his friends: of his indignation at their being diſregarded; which he ſometimes expreſſed in very opprobrious terms. It has been proved, that he never took the merit of them to himſelf; but always uniformly ſpoke of them as Rowley's. For this we have the evidence of his mother and ſiſter, and every one of his moſt intimate friends. Perſons have been applied to, who ſaw the originals: who ſaw him with the parchments

ments in his hand; who heard him read from them; and were preſent at the time he was copying. Several of the originals are ſtill in the hands of Mr. Barrett. I have ſhewn his ſmall pretenſions to learning, from his firſt companions; from thoſe, who knew him afterwards; from the maſter, who taught him: and laſtly, from his own teſtimony; from the writings under his own ſignature, the ſtrongeſt evidence of all. That he had originals before him, is plain from the helps, to which he applied, to get information. Theſe were Skinner, Kerſey, the ſmall Saxon dictionary, and Chaucer with the gloſſary. Theſe he obtained, when he had been in poſſeſſion of the manuſcripts above a year and an half: ſo that at that ſeaſon, though he had copied many of them, he was not perfectly maſter of the language. Indeed, he never attained to it. And to this were owing the falſe gloſſes and deviations, of which a real author could not have been guilty. Indeed, nothing can be more inconſiſtent, than to ſuppoſe him the author: for it is plain, if he compoſed the poems, that he did not know his own meaning: if he penned the originals, he could not read his own writing; but was obliged to others to find out his purpoſe. This induces me to dwell a little longer upon the books, which he borrowed; as the inference,

ference, which naturally reſults from that circumſtance, ſeems to be of conſequence. They were obtained partly from Mr. Barrett; and partly from Mr. Green's circulating library; after he had given to Mr. Catcott and Mr. Barrett many copies of the poems, and ſpoken of others, as being in his poſſeſſion. This ſhews, that they were not of his own compoſition. For who ever conſtructed a poem, and then a year or two afterwards turned to a dictionary to underſtand it? It may be ſaid, that he had recourſe to theſe helps, in order to form a gloſſary. But if he had compoſed the verſes, ſurely he could have made a gloſſary, without the help of either Kerſey, or Skinner: otherwiſe, as I have urged before, he muſt have written, what he did not underſtand: and that ſuch fine poetry was the reſult of ignorance, is not to be believed. That the world aroſe from chaos, I can eaſily imagine: becauſe it was by means of a divine hand. But that a jargon of words ſhould produce an Iliad, I cannot conceive. It is therefore plain, that he was not the author.

I have mentioned many of his miſtakes and miſconceptions; and the miſtakes of others, which he through ignorance adopted. It is with regret, that I am obliged to recur to thoſe inſtances of his want of knowledge in his

his Saxon and African poems: in the latter of which Cabo Lopez Gonſalvo is changed to the rock of Lupa and the cave of Lobar: the deſert of Zaira to the palaces of Zeira; and the river Tiber is made to run through Arabia. How is it poſſible for a perſon of ſo little experience to have attained to that ſtore of knowledge, to that abſtruſe and recondite hiſtory, with which theſe poems are fraught? Turgott and Rowley knew the perſons, of whom they treated; and the circumſtances, which they deſcribed. But Chatterton had not this knowledge. He lived at a great diſtance of time; and had neither experience, nor hiſtory, of theſe events, which he is ſuppoſed to commemorate. How could he poſſibly know the names of the Saxon Earls, which occur in the Battle of Haſtings; and which are not to be found in any hiſtorian? They are indeed authenticated by Doomſday-book. But did he ever hear of that book? or if he did, had he ever acceſs to it? We may be aſſured, that he never had. The names of Bertram, Normanne, and many others, were too far out of his reach to have been ever attained by him. The nature of this evidence is ſuch, as muſt ſet aſide all ſcruples and ſurmiſes: nor can it be affected by any of the popular ſtories of Chatterton, and his inventive faculty; nor

by the high and unwarrantable notions of his parts and genius. As I have before ſaid, let him have had every natural qualification, with which man can be bleſt; yet he was not gifted with inſpiration: and without that, he could not have arrived at the truths contained in Rowley. And let him have forged volumes; yet he never compoſed theſe poems; nor the manuſcripts, with which they are connected. It was impoſſible for him to have hit upon ſo many hiſtorical truths, without any hiſtory to direct him. How could he have any intelligence about the marriage deſigned for Canynge into the family of the Widevilles, concerning which there was no known hiſtory? Or of the cruel fine impoſed upon him for his refuſal, which was equally unknown? The ſame may be aſked concerning any perſon, who may be ſubſtituted, as the author, in the room of Rowley. Theſe evidences not only ſhew, who did not compoſe the poems; but point out, who did. They prove, that the intelligence came from Redcliffe Tower; and totally make void the notion of an imaginary third perſon. Rowley muſt have been appriſed of Canynge's marriage. He lived at the time; and was intereſted in the affair: and it was from him, that the hiſtory was tranſmitted. The whole

has ſince been very fortunately authenticated, as I have ſhewn. The very article of king Edward being at Briſtol in the year 1467 could hardly have been diſcovered by Chatterton; as it is, I believe, mentioned but by one hiſtorian. Indeed, he does not pretend to have known the year: nor is it any where ſpecified by Rowley. Yet it has been verified by means of the Worceſter regiſter: and every circumſtance about Canynge's ordination has been verified from thence. We have the like evidence about the burning of Redcliffe ſpire. Rowley muſt have been in ſome degree an eye-witneſs of the event: but Chatterton had no hiſtory of it; no record, excepting what muſt have come from Rowley. He could not have mentioned it without ſome previous intimation from that quarter: for no account was elſewhere to be had. This, like the two articles above, has ſince his death been atteſted, and by the ſame hand: by the teſtimony of William of Worceſtre. If the manuſcripts were forgeries by Chatterton, theſe hiſtories muſt have been his invention: but we have ſeen them paſt contradiction certified; which could not have been the caſe, if they had been forgeries. They therefore cannot have been the mere flights of a boyiſh imagination, but are genuine hiſtorical truths.

And as he uniformly ſaid, that he had them from Rowley, and as we cannot reaſonably conceive any other means, it is abſurd to aſcribe them to any other perſon. If all thoſe, who knew the young man, and have given their atteſtation to the antiquity of the poems, were to be warped in their principles, or to be found miſtaken, or were even to retract their evidence; yet it would avail nothing againſt theſe proofs. We may proceed upon the ſame principle in reſpect to the Temple church, which was ſaid to have been ſo badly conſtructed by the firſt builder, that it ſubſided, and bulged. But a better architect preſerved it, by laying a ſtronger baſis, founded on piles. If this account were a forgery by Chatterton, it could never have been by any means authenticated: but we find that it was * verified in the year 1774, about four years after his death.

* This evidence was obtained from ſome overſeers and workmen, who were employed in repairing the gates leading to the Temple church-yard. They had not ocular demonſtration of the piles, the water came in ſo faſt upon them: but in digging they came to the foundation abovementioned; which conſiſted of an enormous maſs of ſtone over a watery ſwamp. Now the greater the maſs, the more need there was for a ſecondary ſupport: and in ſuch a ſituation no other ſupport, but piles, can be well conceived. For this, and much other intelligence, I am indebted to Mr. George Catcott.

Theſe are events, for which Chatterton had no voucher, if we do not allow him Rowley. But even thoſe perſons, and thoſe events, which have collateral hiſtory for their confirmation, are often too obſcure to be eaſily met with; and could not come within the ſphere of a boy's intelligence. We have ſeen, that he makes a ſoldier, who was later than Hubba the Dane, contemporary with Hengiſt; and ſpeaks of an Inca's fleet upon the coaſt of Calabar. Can we imagine ſuch a novice to be an adept in the moſt remote, and ſecret parts of hiſtory? It cannot be ſuppoſed. How could he know any thing of the Blue Briton, and Tinyan? of Powis-land, and Matraval; and the hiſtory of Howel ap Jevah? Add to theſe the numberleſs references and dark alluſions, which continually preſent themſelves to the reader in every part of Rowley.

Such is the evidence, with which theſe poems are attended. In the proceſs of my enquiry I have brought accumulated proof of the Mſſ. having been ſeen, and acknowledged as authentic. I have mentioned the manner of their being carried away and ſecreted: of their being afterwards copied; and of the perſon, who tranſcribed them, being ſeen in the article of tranſcribing: of their being uniformly attributed to the real

author, Rowley; concerning whom no doubts were ever entertained by the beſt judges, the people upon the ſpot, who were eye-witneſſes to the facts, upon which my evidence is founded. Not the leaſt ſuſpicion prevailed; till ſcruples and difficulties aroſe at a diſtance. This external evidence is neceſſarily blended with the internal: and through the whole courſe of my enquiry I have endeavoured to prove, that theſe compoſitions required far more learning, than fell to the lot of the young man at Briſtol. I have ſhewn, that he many times did not comprehend the purport of the lines, which he copied; and that he miſtook the very characters, in which they were deſcribed; ſo that he ſubſtituted one word for another. This alone, I think, falls little ſhort of demonſtration, that the poems were by another hand. On this account I muſt recur to the propoſition with which I ſet out, that every author muſt know his own meaning. And whoever brings a copy of a prior writing, and does not underſtand that writing, that perſon cannot be the author. In ſhort, if a boy produces a reputable exerciſe, and cannot conſtrue it, there is not an uſher at a boarding-ſchool, but will tell him, he did not make it.

AD ÆSTINGAM PUGNA.

DULCE ſolum, virtutum altrix, Brittannia mater,
Rite tuas laudes, tua munera carmine vates
Aggredior; tritas auſus contemnere metas,
Et dare vela rati. Quid enim prius, inclyta, verſu
Proſequar, Aonio tellus digniſſima plectro,
Quam tua, quæ latas implent præconia gentes,
Heroum fœcunda parens? At non mihi cuncta
Fas proferre palam; ſuperat quando omnia longe
Virtus clara virûm, et per terras didita fama,
Egregios tantum liceat memorare labores,
Et quid ab externis perpeſſa es viribus olim,
Heu, ſævis luctata malis. Te, Roma, duello
Improba tentavit primum, cum ignota jaceres,
Septa diu tenebris, deſertoque invia ponto.
Mox, ab Hyperboreis delatus ſedibus, arma
Intulit accitus, Cronii maris accola, Saxo;
Et diram expoſuit Rhutupino in littore pubem.
Ille Caledonias acies, Pictumque ferocem,
Ferre jugum docuit; vetitiſque excedere regnis
Juſſit; et in boream, nativaque frigora miſit.
At tandem in ſocios ferro converſus et igni,
(Proh, temerata fides!) peſtis crudelior ipſe
Incubuit terris, et pulſo immanior hoſte;
Subjectamque plagam vaſtavit perfidus armis.

Quis procerum infandas cædes, quis triſtia paſſim
Exilia, et famulæ neſcit ſuſpiria plebis?
Mox, ubi compoſitis rediit concordia rebus,
Vix bene ſeptenas paſſa eſt coaleſcere gentes
Saxonidum fortuna; novos cum infida tumultus
Concitat; ac terras iterum terit advena bello.
Quid referam Danorum acies, clademque nefandam,
Cimbrica cum primum tempeſtas appulit oris?
Ut gemuit dominos gens indignata ſuperbos,
Dentibus infrendens fruſtra; fruſtraque rebelli
Excutere affectans onus haud tractabile collo?
Sic jacet infelix Brittannia, percita multo
Vulnere, barbarico toties data præda furori.
Quod neque littoribus quæ circum plurima frendit
Unda, nec oppoſitæ poterant avertere cautes.
At non, arcano qui fœdere temperat orbem,
Dilectam tanto Deus in diſcrimine gentem
Deſerit. Ultor adeſt Morinis Gulielmus ab oris;
Et cito vindicibus ſternit vada falſa carinis,
Heroumque manu. Longum ſit ſancta per ævum
Illa dies, faſtis nunquam reticenda Britannis,
Cum vix hoſtiles noſtra in confinia turmas
Contulit; et juſto meruit certamine regnum.
Nunc age, crudeles motus, odia aſpera regum,
Eventuſque graves referam: totum ordine bellum,
Collatas acies, fœdamque in littore cladem,
Nunc aperire labor. Ventos in vota vocabat
Neuſtriadum detenta acies: quo tempore Haraldus,
Clarus avis, ataviſque potens, ſed crimine adeptus
Imperium, dubiâ Britonas ditione tenebat.
Magna viri virtus, ſpectataque dextera bello;
Sed mens fida parum: meritæ violentia famæ
Officit; et juſtas minuunt perjuria laudes.
Et licet haud alius magis in certamine notus,
Egregiuſque manu; quem contra opponeret armis,
Invenit fortuna parem. Jamque acer et ardens
Cogit uterque viros. Gulielmum Neuſtria tellus
Ediderat; clarum meritis, et ſtirpe ſuperbâ
Rollonidum:

Rollonidum : populus quem in regnum adſciverat ultro,
Plebeiâ de matre nothum. Satis una, ſuperque,
Nobilitas viſa eſt : quin conciliavit amorem
Ingenium, virtuſque, et miræ gratia formæ.
Illum adeo patriis accitum * Edoardus ab oris
Accipit, et gentis monſtrat decora alta Britannæ ;
Ingenteſque animos miratus, poſthuma ſpondet
Imperia, et ſceptris hæredem nuncupat ultro.
Nec tamen his obſtat Godoëni martia proles,
Jus patrium, et ſanguis licet intercedat avitus ;
Sed ſceptra et ſolium defert, regnumque futurum,
Sponte aras adhibens, ipſumque in fœdera Numen.
Vix tamen extincto juſta exequialia regi
Anglia perſolvit ; bello quando omnia turbat
Perfidus, et ſumptis regnum ſibi vindicat armis.
Continuo has fraudes cælo portenta ſequuntur,
Et vulgi attonitas terrent præſagia mentes.
Deficît in primo lampas Titania curſu,
Nec ſolita attingit faſtigia. Luna laborat ;
Fulguraque, et triſtes minitantur dira Cometæ.
Quodque animum regis turbat magis, ingruit oris
Improba Norvegiæ glaciali a littore claſſis.
Dumque hæret rerum confuſus imagine princeps,
Ancipitique malo ; vacuos ſine milite campos
Occupat, et flammis vaſtat late omnia prædo.
Ergo alium Angligenis curſum, quanquam impedit ingens
Implicitos propius belli mora, tendere ſuadet ;
Præceditque viros. Humbri jamque alta fluenta,
Longum iter emenſi, ſuperant, vicinaque raptim
Arva petunt : ſummiſque vident in ſaltibus hoſtem.
Nec mora, congreſſi longo in certamine pellunt ;
Et temere effuſos ipſa ad navalia pergunt
Proterere ; et rapidis cogunt dare lintea ventis.
Littore pacato ſua per veſtigia princeps
Caſtra petit victor, colleſque, ubi ſubſtitit hoſtis.
Norvegiæ hic proceres, ipſumque in pulvere regem

* Edvardus confeſſor, rex Anglorum.

Harvagrum

Harvagrum videt; et fusum sine nomine vulgus;
Et, tela in patriam qui sustulit impia, Toston.
Exuvias etiam ingentes, spolia ampla reportat,
Spiculaque, et clypeos, gentisque insignia torques.
Interea nox atra subit; tenebræque reducunt
Maturam fessis requiem: jamque avia ruris
Vasta silent. Fusus miles per castra sopori
Indulget, belli satur, oblitusque laborum;
At manus insomnis juvenum, pro more sub armis,
Excubiis peragunt circum tentoria noctem.
Cum subito in speculis, summisque in montibus, ignes
Collucere procul cernunt: jamque altera tæda,
Alteraque oppositis dirimit juga dissita flammis.
Agnoscunt vigiles signum, trepidique tumultu
Regem adeunt, certosque exponunt rite timores.
Excitus a somno, tumuli fastigia princeps,
Unde oculis longe pateat plaga subdita, prendit:
Et frendens feritate, novus labor ingruit, inquit;
Ad majora vocor: bellum hic denunciat ignis,
Externumque monet terras tetigisse tyrannum.
Heu, rerum jam certa fides! Me Neustrius armis
Provocat absentem, finesque impune peragrat:
Verum adero, et, trepide repetat sua littora, cogam.
Sic ait; atque aciem primo vix mane refectam
Cogit, et instructo propere rapit agmine campum.
Tertia jam tenebras cælo dimoverat Eos,
Illuxitque dies; coram cum nuncius adstat
Spumanti prævectus equo; remque ordine pandit,
Advenisse ducem, et portus tetigisse Pevanos.
Est locus, Australis regio qua vergit in æquor,
Anderidæ propter saltus, lucosque sonantes,
Æstinga: indigenæ sic illum nomine dicunt.
Huc fato delatæ acies. Jam pectore in omni
Fervet martis amor. Pubes Normannica cœlo
Fundit rite preces; et votis æthera complet.
Non ita Saxonidæ, et morti devota juventus.
Dum tenebræ campo prohibent concurrere, vertunt
Pocula, et insano producunt tempora lusu;

Multum

Multum execrantes noctem : quos nox tamen una
Longa manet, triſtiſque, nec interitura per ævum.
Poſtera cum ſparſit montana cacumina luce
Orta dies, aciem deſertis ducit Haraldus
Fervidus e caſtris, et ſpe feſtinat in hoſtem.
Ite, ait, egregii Juvenes ; ſociique laborum,
Quos avidè amplector ſumma in diſcrimina, nunquam
Expertus bello indecores : defendite laudes,
Et patrium ſervate decus. Me, me duce, tela
Corripite ; implicitos quos improbus advena bello
Sollicitat, proprio non auſus fidere marti.
Ite, agite, imbellem detrudite finibus hoſtem.
Sic ait, armatoſque jubet procedere campo
Saxonidas, Danoſque, et durum marte Britannum.
Illum adeo ex omni pubes regione ſecuta,
Flos virtuſque virûm cingit, quos priſtina tollit
Gloria ; et arctoö ſpectatum in littore robur.
Quin ſocii, et reditu raptim conſcripta juventus ;
Agreſtes animi, duriſque exercita proles.
Jure ſuo ante alios primam gens inclyta frontem
Cantiaca explicuit : meritis ſitus iſte locorum
Omnibus in bellis longo conceſſus ab ævo.
Hic firmi expectant hoſtem ; validiſque ſecurim
Ancipitem manibus ſæva inter prælia librant
Cominus, et duro turbant late agmina ferro.
Dextram aciem occiduæ fortis tenet incola terræ ;
Dammoniæ qui rura colunt : quos Ceſtria mittit ;
Cambriaque, et pelago tellus circumflua Monæ.
At procul in lævâ Boreæ de gente profecti ;
Qui Diræ ingentes ſaltus ; qui Mercia regna ;
Icenamque tenent : dulcis qui flumina Lindi,
Qui Thameſina bibunt : ſuperi quos alluit æſtu
Unda freti ; quoſque inferius mare limite claudit.
Stant alacres, fixique gradum ſtatione tuentur,
Formidanda acies. Complent media agmina Dani,
Sæva manus. Flavos poſſis dignoſcere crines,
Diſcordeſque ſonos vocum : pro tegmine geſtant
Loricam, conſertam hamis ; manibuſque coruſcant

Saxonidum

Saxonidum in morem falcatos cominus enſes;
Ferratamque rotant valido molimine clavam.
At parte adverſâ ſtabant juſto ordine turmæ
Neuſtriadum. Huc fortes ſubmiſit Gallia natos
Subſidio, Gulielme, tuo. Venere feroces
Armorici, Britonum, ut perhibent, animoſa propago;
Nunc patrum obliti penitus: mars omnia miſcet
Scilicet; atque odiis ſocialia fœdera ſolvit.
Nec non magnanimam miſit Burgundia prolem.
Lexovii venere truces: Sylvæ accola venit
Horridus Ardennæ Rhemus, nemora avia durus
Qui colit, et Batavus felix regnator aquarum.
Quin manus irriguis Sequanæ contermina ripis;
Qui Samaram, et modico properantem flumine Scaldim
Haurit; et oceanum ſolers tranſmittere Belga.
Ante alios longe coëunt, procera juventus,
Neuſtriadæ, atque arcus vaſto curvamine flectunt.
Quinetiam in ſtabili miles certamine clarus;
Ferratæque equitum, viſu mirabile, turmæ.
Ænëus haud illis thorax ſatis eſſe videtur,
Loricæque uſus: coopertos circuit artus
Armatura chalybs, et ductu flexilis ambit.
Nulla manet pars nuda: pedes, ſuræque, manuſque,
Tecta latent: demptoque viro jam ſpirat imago
Ferrea: totum habilis circumdat lamina corpus.
Armat equos eadem; ferratâ fronte minantur:
Securoſque equites bellorum in turbine portant,
Spicula ridentes, et caſſas ſanguine plagas.
Ipſi non jaculis certant; celerive ſagittâ
Eminus incendunt pugnas: ingentibus inſtant
Enſibus, aut magno protrudunt agmina conto.
Interea oppoſitas dirimit parva area turmas
Amborum; et pugnæ rauco ter buccina cantu
Signa dedit: ſequitur ſublatus ad æthera clamor.
Preſſa gemit ſubter tellus: pulſuque ſonoro
Cornipidum concuſſa tremit. Nondum impius enſis
Vaginâ eripitur: ſtridet lethalis arundo,
Spiculaque hoſtilem guſtant præmiſſa cruorem.

Dumque

Dumque ea miſſilibus longe præludia tentant,
Atra ſubit nubes, et opaco pulvere terram
Denſa tegit: rupto tandem ſeu turbine, telis
Confligunt, propiuſque invadunt obvia ferro.
Hic Belgæ Morinique ruunt: hic imminet atrox
Armoricus. Tentant aciem perfringere, ſiquâ
Oſtendat fortuna viam; fruſtraque laborant
Explorare aditus. Labor undique triſtis, et omne
Telorum interea ſævit genus. Ingruit imber
Ferreus in campis, adverſaque verberat ora.
Sic Britones belli nubem, dum detonat, omnem
Suſtentant virtute diu. Jam Neuſtria turmas
Submittit, durique inſtaurant prælia Galli.
Hi laxi, ſparſique ruunt: ſed Neuſtria pubem
In denſos cogit cuneos; perque arma, per hoſtes,
Quærit iter; rapidis equitum comitantibus alis.
Necdum intus penetrare datur. Stat dura Britannûm
Inconcuſſa acies: ſtat nuſquam pervia bello.
Ter ſeſe objiciunt equites, totieſque repulſi
Nequicquam remeant, refluo velut æquor ab æſtu.
Continuo egregias Gulielmus pectore fraudes
Concipit: ipſe ſuos paulatim cedere campo
Edocet: ipſe celer laxatis fertur habenis,
Et dat terga fugæ, fictâ formidine, ductor.
Irrumpunt Britones, campum ut videre patentem,
Averſumque premunt hoſtem: quin inſtat Haraldus,
Telorumque ferox fugientes nube laceſſit.
Nec miſer inſidias ſentit, fictumque timorem,
Erroremve videt; donec nullo ordine fuſos
Accipiunt latebræ, fraudique accommoda vallis;
Et juga continuis includunt collibus agmen.
Tum rerum manifeſta fides. Stupet ipſe tyrannus,
Horreſcitque videns, quo ſe nimis impulit ardens
Impetus, et dubiæ fallax fiducia pugnæ.
Heu, nuſquam patet aufugium: latera ardua utrinque
Præmiſſi ſtipant equites, ſummiſque frequenter
Conſedere jugis: pedites a fronte minantur,
Converſique armis proturbant eminus hoſtem.

Atque

Atque ea Rollonidum cernens procedere princeps,
Ipſe aditus, quæ jam ſupereſt via ſola ſalutis,
Occupat, et fauces numeroſo milite complet.
Jamque enſis ſine more furit; lateque per artus
Irrevocandus abit: media in præcordia rumpit
Fervidus; exoritur, viſu miſerabile, cædes.
Neuſtriades exultat ovans; ultroque feroces
Incitat. Haud pugnâ, nec apertis cernitur armis;
Sed pecudum ritu jugulant. Furit irrita virtus,
Luctaturque aperire viam: non arma movendi
Luctanti locus eſt, ſtipataque membra teruntur.
Miſſile non curſum peragit ſine ſanguine: nulla
Spicula cæde vacant; nuſquam non certa ſagitta.
Nitentes alius ſupera ad faſtigia collis
Adverſo proſternit equo: colliſa fatiſcunt
Pectora: ſanguineo volvuntur corpora campo.
At non magnanimus timide ſuccumbit Haraldus,
Inclinatâ acie: fatiſque prementibus inſtat
Acrior, ut parili reparet diſpendia clade.
Circumſtat dilecta manus, regemque tuetur,
Dum fortuna ſinit. Quoquo ſe turbidus infert,
Agglomerant, parmiſque tegunt. Illum eminus horrent
Neuſtriadæ. Spectant oculos, vultumque minacem,
Nec ſufferre valent: ardent fera lumina flammis.
Ille ferox frendit, ſpatio concluſus iniquo,
Horrendumque fremit. Campum moriturus honeſtum
Expoſcit: dignamque aperit virtute palæſtram.
Quis cladem illius pugnæ, quis funera fando
Expediat; regiſve exæquet carmine laudes?
Ille volat, ferroque viam ſibi pandit eunti:
Dumque per oppoſitas acies ruit, arma viroſque
Semineces proculcat humi: tremefacta recedunt
Agmina, et oppoſitæ referunt veſtigia turmæ.
Nunc Batavum proturbat equo: nunc arduus enſe
Belgas terret agens. Forte adfuit inclytus armis
Rollonidum egregio Juvenis de ſanguine Perſes.
Dumque procul ſeſe princeps temerarius infert,
Incautuſque furit; ſubit ille, et poplite flexo,

Pectora

Pectora cornipedis longâ transverberat hastâ.
Corruit in vulnus sonipes; super ipse secutus,
Cernuus in terram rex volvitur. Ocyus hostes
Incursant jaculis, vastâque indagine claudunt.
Circumstant propere socii, regemque tumultu
Implicitum tellure levant. Fremit ille cruore
Terribilis, sævisque iterum sese ingerit hastis.
Proxima quæque metit gladio; lateque repente
Per campum via facta patet. Nemo audet adire
Cominus, aut tantas in se convertere vires.
Missilibus tantum certant, longisque sariſſis,
Deturbare virum. Multos reverentia tangit,
Debilitatque manus: spectant opera ardua regis
Attoniti, propiusque timent accedere telis.
Horrida majestas terret; truculentaque imago,
Et sonus, et species humano corpore major.
At non ipse diu patitur languescere corda:
Nulla mora est: iterum erumpit, ferroque lacessit
Agmina: sed sævis procedere longius iris
Haud fortuna sinit. Dumque instat fervidus ense,
Necdum animum explevit tumidum cruor; ecce, sagittam
Fortunata manus promit, nervoque reducto
Explicat. Illa abit, et celeri cava tempora lapsu
Trajicit, atque imo penitus sedet acta cerebro.
Corruit, et casu Godoëni martia eodem
Procumbit cum stirpe domus. Vis Anglica passim
Interit, et cæsum cingit vasto agmine regem.
Tristis ubique pavor. Pauci per devia ruris,
Quod supersit, trepide fugiunt, et tuta capessunt,
Relliquiæ belli miseræ, quibus hasta pepercit.

ADDITIONAL

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

P. 132. *HAPPIE manne be's dole!* I forgot to mention, that this expreſſion, however irregular it may appear, is to be found more than once in Shakeſpeare. The tranſcriber was in ſome degree acquainted with this writer; and by his authority, I imagine, he was led to alter the original reading to the prejudice of the verſe. What the true reading was may be known from the nature of the verſe; and alſo from the authority of Rowley himſelf, who makes uſe of it in another place.

He'll wynge to heavn wyth kynne, and happie bee hys dolle.

Epitaph upon Rob. Canynge, p. 278. l. 4.

P. 178. I have taken notice of ſeveral hiſtories concerning the landing of the Danes at Portlac, Watchet, and other places upon the weſtern coaſt of England; and of their being particularly oppoſed by the people of Somerſetſhire. Among other inroads, one is mentioned as happening about the year 918; when they were driven into a pearruc or incloſure after having been defeated at Watchet. I expreſſed my doubts, whether this could be the action which is recorded by Rowley. It is however certain, that there exiſts a manuſcript account from Turgott concerning this affair, of which I was not at that time appriſed. In this is mentioned, that Ælla was warden of Briſtol Caſtle about the year DCCCCXX: that the Danes then landed at Watchet: and that they were repulſed by Ælla, who in the engagement loſt his life. This account differs but little from that given in the Saxon chronicle: where the landing of the Danes at Portlac and Watchet in the reign of Edward the Elder,

is ſo particularly * ſpecified. If this be the tranſaction referred to by Rowley (and there is a wonderful coincidence of circumſtances) it is a full century earlier, than I have ſuppoſed it. As to the difference of two years, it is not conſiderable; and may have ariſen from an error in † tranſcribing: or the tranſactions, which are limited in the chronicle to a year, may have exceeded the term, to which they were referred. At all rates the hiſtory of the hero in the play ſeems to have been founded in truth, though varied and embelliſhed by the Poet's fancy. I thought proper to ſubmit this intelligence to the Reader; that he, may compare theſe evidences, and form his judgment accordingly.

P. 179. I have intimated, that probably Parks, ſuch as we have now, were not in uſe when Ælla is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed. They were however more ancient, than is commonly imagined; and undoubtedly in vogue among the Saxons. For ſeveral exiſted at the coming of the Normans, and are ſpecified in Doomſday Book. There may therefore have been incloſures ſo called, and ſo conſtituted, for the reception of deer, even in the time of Ælla.

P. 256. I have expreſſed myſelf as if the ancient name of Durham, was rather Dunelm than Dunholm: but it was at times ſpecified by all three names: and the laſt Dunholm is that which is principally made uſe of by the Author of the Saxon Chronicle, as may be ſeen, p. 208, l. 33. 233, l. 6. 195, l. 35: alſo in other places. Durham or Dirham, for ſo it was of old called, ſignifies the habitation of the Diræ, and related properly to the county. Dun-holm ſignifies Collis-Sylveſtris, Nemoroſus: a hill with woods. Dun-Elm, Collis Ulmorum, ſive mons Ulmetum; i. e. Elm-Hill. Theſe two laſt appellations related ſolely to the place, or city.

P. 105. † DCCCCXX for DCCCXIIX.

P. 287.

P. 287. In ſpeaking of Dynefare, by the Welch expreſſed Dynevour, I have omitted to mention, that the ruins of this very ancient caſtle, and palace, ſtill remain: and are ſituated in the eſtate of the late honourable George Rice. He was deſcended from the princes of South Wales: and Dynevour affords a title which is entailed upon the lady of the above gentleman, and upon her ſon after her, and which is to take place upon the death of her father the Right Honourable Earl Talbot.

P. 370. I have ſhewn how widely ſcattered the names of the Norman nobility appear to be, who are mentioned in the battle of Haſtings. However we may find authorities for moſt of them, though they are not without much difficulty to be procured. The Sieur de Bonnoboe occurs in none of the liſts, excepting in that of William Tayleur, as quoted by Holinſhed: where I imagine it to be the ſame, which is expreſſed Bonnobault. But that there was ſuch a Norman name, is more fully ſhewn from a perſon called Boneſboz, who held lands under Henry the Second, as Duke of Normandy, at Bayeux. This may be ſeen in Dr. Ducarel's *Anglo-Norman Antiquities conſidered*; and the circumſtance is taken from the Red Book of the Exchequer, the title of which is this: NORMANNIA. Infeudaciones Militum, qui debent ſervitia militaria Duci Normanniæ, &c. The third Knight mentioned under the article De Baiocaſino, is, *Robtus de Boneboz* 1 *mil. regi de* 3 *m. quos habet in Algur.* This was communicated to me by my friend Dr. Barford: of whoſe friendſhip I have had occaſion to make mention more than once.

P. 400. I forgot to intimate, that there is a ſmaller Doomſday Book; to which I had not opportunity of applying. It conſiſts of 450 pages on vellum: and contains an account of three counties, omitted in the larger book; viz. Norfolk, Suffolk, and Eſſex.

ERRATA. PART SECOND.

Page 307,	l. 3,	*for* Warwiſenſem —	*read* Warwicenſem.
	l. 13,	— Hieroſolymitarum	—— Hieroſolymitanorum.
317,	l. 5,	— Herthiſbiriom	—— Hertheſbiriam.
337,	l. 18,	— the ſame county	—— Dorſetſhire.
339,	l. 15.	— Glouſtriæ —	—— Gloceſtriæ.
341,	l. 3,	— eam ——	—— eum.
351,	l. 4,	— vi. 74 ——	—— vii. 88.
351,	l. 10,	— viii. ——	—— vi.
368,	l. 1,	— Bartrammel —	—— Bertramil.
377,	l. 27,	— hadam ——	—— hidam.
378,	l. 1,	— Sumerſetſhire —	—— Somerſetſhire.
383,	l. 7,	— Summerſetſhire	—— Somerſetſhire.
384,	l. 7,	— 213 ——	—— 214.
387,	l. 22,	— Gloceſterchire —	—— Glouceſterſhire.
390,	l. 9,	— Euuardi —	—— Eduuardi.
395,	l. 11,	— or Barons, *dele.*	
479,	l. 4,	— breathing —	—— living.

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